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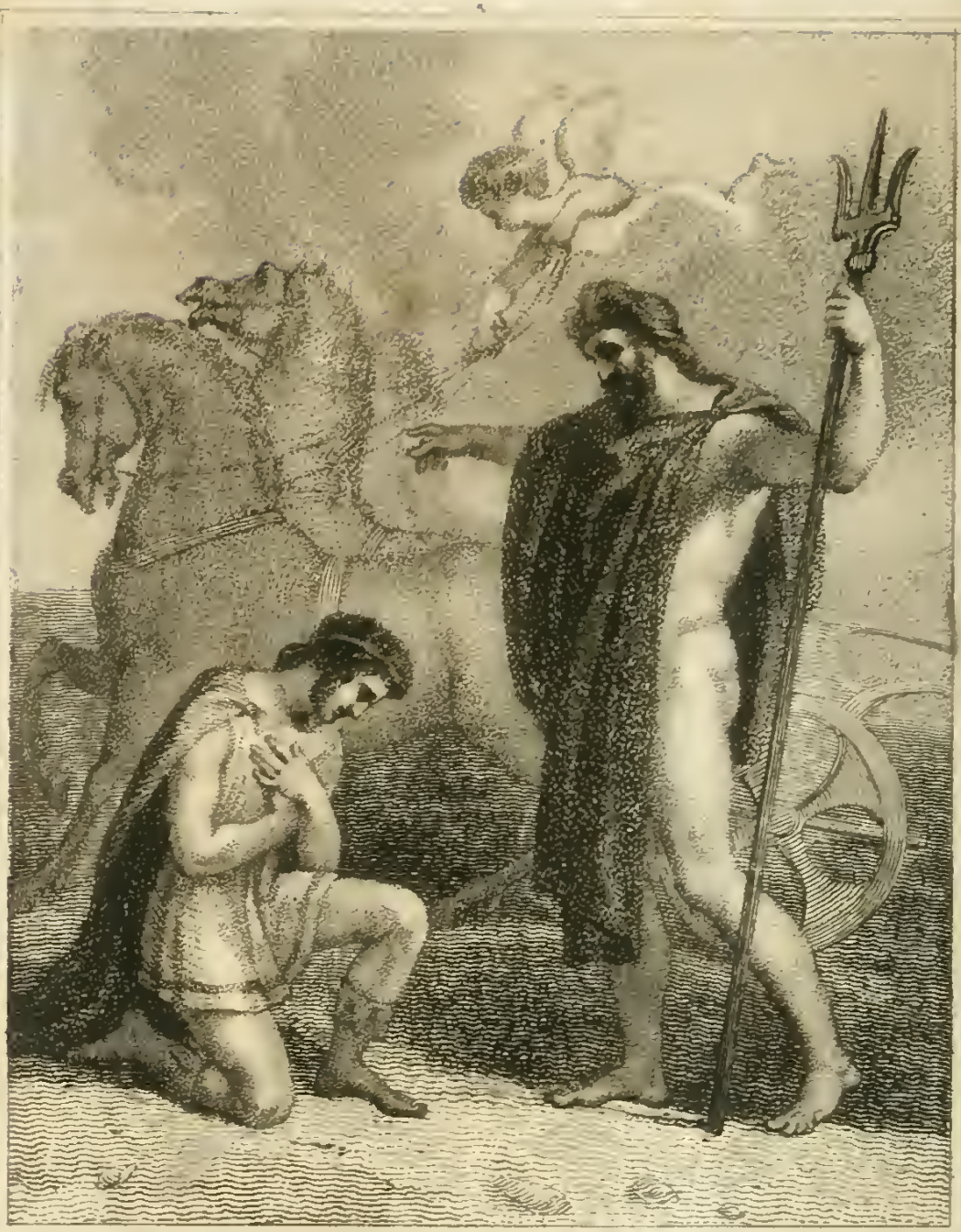

Thus he pray'd, and mov'd the God
Who his bold attempt to grace,
On the favour'd youth bestow'd
Steeds unwearied in the race.

Pind. Pythic. Ode.

Drawn by R. Cook *Engraved by A. Cardon.*

Published by W. Lucaby, 10 Lower

THE

WORKS

OF THE

BRITISH POETS;

INCLUDING THE MOST ESTEEMED

TRANSLATIONS

FROM

The Greek and Roman Authors.

COLLATED WITH THE BEST EDITIONS:

BY

THOMAS PARK, F.S.A.

VOL. XLII.

CONTAINING THE

WORKS OF PINDAR,

TRANSLATED BY WEST, GREEN, AND PYE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN SHARPE, PICCADILLY;
AND SUTTABY, EVANCE, AND FOX, STATIONERS' COURT, LUDGATE STREET.

1818.

ODES

OF

PINDAR,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK,

WITH

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY

G. WEST, R. B. GREENE,

AND

H. J. PYE, ESQ^RS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A DISSERTATION

ON THE

OLYMPIC GAMES,

BY THE FORMER.

VOL. I.

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CONTENTS.

A DISSERTATION ON THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

Page

Sect. I. Of the Original of the Olympic Games 9

II. Of the Restitution of the Olympic Games 16

III. Of the Religious Ceremonies..... 20

IV. Of the Olympiad.. 40

V. Of the Hellanodics, or Presidents of the Olympic Games..... 46

VI. Of the Games, and of the Olympic Stadium..... 57

VII. Of the Foot Races 63

VIII. Of the Palé, or Wrestling 71

IX. Of the Pentathlon..... 78

X. Of the Cæstus..... 86

XI. Of the Pancratium..... 93

XII. Of the Horse Races 100

XIII. Of the several Kinds of Chariot Races 128

XIV. Of the Race of Riding Horses... 135

XV. Of the Candidates for the Olympic Crown..... 161

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

OLYMPIC GAMES.

SECTION I.

OF THE ORIGINAL OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

THE vanity of the Grecians, in magnifying their antiquities, is remarkable in every part of their history. There was scarce a considerable town, or family of any note, that did not boast itself descended from some god, and show a pedigree deduced from the earliest ages of the world. This fabulous and extravagant nobility served for a common topic of flattery among all their poets, not to add orators and historians: too many instances of which are to be met with in the odes of Pindar.

It is no wonder then, if in the accounts of their religious institutions we meet with the same mixture of fable, the same pretensions to antiquity, and an original derived some way or other from the gods. Their deities were born in the fabulous age, and had taken possession of all Greece long before the birth either of history or chronology;

which did not come in use till some time after the restitution of the Olympic Games by Iphitus the Elean.

Whoever, therefore, would make an inquiry into the original establishment of these games, must be contented with such an account of it, as was either invented or received by the Eleans, in whose territory, and under whose direction, they were celebrated; an account made up of fables and traditions.

And indeed the Eleans are of all people the most to be excused for mingling fables with their accounts of an institution, that is universally acknowledged to have subsisted before the use of chronological dates and records: the first example of which they themselves gave in the register of the Olympic conquerors, which they began to keep soon after the restoration of those Games; and by the invention of which they have made a sufficient expiation, not for themselves alone, but for all their countrymen. For if they have given us fable and tradition, where we might have expected history, they have in return helped us to the means of distinguishing thenceforward between one and the other; and of having truth and history, where we could otherwise hope to have met with nothing but fable and imposture.

Let them then be indulged in a vanity, which they have in common with all the nations of the world, both ancient and modern; and in which they were flattered and encouraged not a little by the great reputation of the Olympic Games. For, to say truth, the sanctity and solemnity of that festival; the majesty and supremacy of the god to whom it

was dedicated; and the great value set upon the Olympic crowns, by the unanimous consent of all Greece, were arguments sufficient to have induced even the most scrupulous historian to receive a tradition, or adopt a fable, that furnished him with a founder worthy of so sacred and august an institution.

Accordingly, the greatest and most venerable personages of antiquity[1], the Idæan Hercules, Clymenus, Endymion, Pelops, and Hercules the son of Alcmena, have been severally introduced as the inventors or revivers of these games; and, to support their different pretensions, reasons have been sought for, and arguments produced, from among the religious rites and ceremonies, the laws and customs of this solemnity. Thus Pausanias[2], for example, tells us, that these games were ordered to be celebrated every five years, because the brothers, called the *Idæi Dactyli*, of whom the Idæan Hercules was the elder, were five in number; to whom in particular, as also to his four brethren, an altar was consecrated at Olympia, by Clymenus, who was descended from this Hercules, and is said to have celebrated these games fifty years after the deluge of Deucalion. The term *Athletæ* (a name signifying those who contend for the prize, called also *Athlon*) is by others derived from Æthlius the father of Endymion[3], who, as well as his sons, is reckoned among the founders of this festival. And as for Pelops, that hero was held in such high veneration at Olympia[4], that the Eleans in their sacrifices gave him the preference,

[1] Paus. lib. 5. [2] Ibid.
[3] Euseb. Chron. [4] Schol. ad Pind. Olymp. Od. 1.

even before Jupiter himself; for which they alleged the practice of Hercules the son of Alcmena; to whose labours also, as Pindar informs[5] us, they were indebted for their olive-crown.

But, not contented with a founder who was mortal by his mother's side[6], the Eleans have carried their antiquities still higher, and name for the authors of these Games Jupiter and Saturn; who, as they pretend, in the very place where these Games were afterwards celebrated, wrestled with each other for the empire of the world.

Others affirm, that they were instituted by Jupiter, in commemoration of his victory over the Titans; and that Apollo in particular signalized himself, by gaining two victories; one over Mercury in the foot-race, and another over Mars in the combat of the *Cæstus*. And this, say they, is the reason that the exercise of leaping[7] (one of the five exercises of the *Pentathlon*) is always accompanied with flutes playing Pythian airs; because those airs are consecrated to Apollo, and because Apollo gained two victories in the Olympic Games.

In this account we may observe history (for there is something of historical truth at the bottom of all these traditions) swelling by degrees, and growing insensibly into fable; till by a progress, like that of fame in Virgil[8], its bulk becomes too big for truth and probability, and reaching at length from earth to heaven, it there totally disappears, lost and confounded with the rest of the antiqui-

[5] Olym. Ode 3.
[6] Paus. lib. v.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Æneid. iv.

ties of Greece, in the clouds of mythology and superstition.

It is needless to mention the names of several other heroes of those early ages, who, by different authors, are said to have celebrated these Games. The last of these was Oxylus, who came into the Peloponnesus with the Heraclides [9]. After whom followed so long an intermission of that solemnity, that the memory of it was almost lost.

The occasions of celebrating the Olympic Games seem to have been various. Sir Isaac Newton is of opinion [10], 'That they were originally celebrated in triumph for victories; first by Hercules Idæus upon the conquest of Saturn and the Titans; and then by Clymenus upon his coming to reign in the *Terra Curetum;* then by Endymion upon his conquering Clymenus; and afterwards by Pelops upon his conquering Ætolus; and by Hercules upon his killing Augeas; and by Atreus upon his repelling the Heraclides; and by Oxylus upon the return of the Heraclides into Peloponnesus.' This opinion may be very well supported out of ancient authors. Pindar expressly tells us, in his second Olympic ode, that Hercules instituted this festival to Jupiter, on occasion of the victory he obtained over Augeas. But the oracle delivered to the Peloponnesians, at the restitution of these Games by Iphitus, says, they were celebrated first by Pisus in honour of Jupiter [11]; then by Pelops twice; first, upon his coming to settle in Greece, and a second time at the funeral of Œnomaüs; and after him by Hercules, in memory of Pelops [12]; at

9 Pans. lib. v.
10 Chron. p. 156.
11 Phlegon.
12 Lib. i. c. 8.

whose death likewise, as Velleius Paterculus informs us, they had before been celebrated as funeral games by his son Atreus, upon which occasion, says the same author, Hercules came off victor in all the exercises. And indeed this account of the occasion of celebrating the Olympic Games is very agreeable to a custom which, as we learn from Homer, Pindar, and all the Greek writers, prevailed very much in those heroic ages. Games, with prizes for the conquerors, were the usual compliment, and made up the greatest part of the ceremony at the funeral of every person of note and quality. The expense of these Games was sometimes borne by the relations and friends of the deceased; as we may see by the example of Achilles, who out of his own treasures gave the prizes, and those of no inconsiderable value, to the conquerors in the Games by him celebrated at the funeral of Patroclus. Sometimes the funeral was at the appointment of the public; and an anniversary solemnization of Games was enacted in honour of the deceased: such were those instituted by a decree of the Syracusians [13], as a perpetual memorial of the godlike virtues of Timoleon their deliverer and legislator.

To one or other, therefore, of these customs, in all likelihood, was owing the original of the Olympic Games; as also of those celebrated at the Isthmus of Corinth, at Delphi, Nemea, and indeed in every considerable town throughout all Greece. It is not so easy to assign a reason how those celebrated at Olympia came to have the rank and pre-

[13] Plut. in Timol.

cedency of all the others; some of which were dedicated to the same god, and could boast as venerable and as ancient a foundation. But whatever may have been the reason of this preference, all the people of Greece acquiesced in it, and agreed to bestow the first honours upon the Olympic conquerors [14].

It cannot, however, I think, be pretended, that these Games were in any very great estimation before the time of their restitution by Iphitus. This may very fairly be concluded, as well from the diversity and uncertainty of the accounts concerning the original and authors of them, as from the silence of Homer, who in the catalogue of the ships (where he takes occasion to inform the reader of the name and situation of the principal towns of Greece) makes no mention of Olympia; nor, when he speaks of Elis and the river Alpheus, as he doth in many parts both of the Iliad and the Odyssey, does he give the least hint of the Olympic Games; though we are told by other authors that they were celebrated by Pelops the grandfather, and afterwards in his honour by Atreus the father, of Agamemnon. Homer, besides, makes frequent mention of Games, and particularly at the funeral of Patroclus introduces his greatest heroes contending in the very same kind of exercises with those practised in the *stadium* of Olympia: upon which occasion, had the Olympic Games been then in such estimation as they are said to have been, one may believe he would not have failed making some mention of them; as well to render more illustrious the majesty

14 See Strabo, lib. viii.

of Agamemnon, the general of the Greeks, whose grandfather Pelops was worshipped equally with Jupiter at that solemnity, as to show from so great and august a precedent the high value of the honours paid by Achilles to his friend.

SECTION II.

OF THE RESTITUTION OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

Iphitus, king of Elis, is by all authors said to have restored the Olympic Games: which is not precisely true in any sense. For if by the Olympic Games be understood the religious policy and ordinances of that festival; the general armistice or truce that always accompanied its solemnization; the public mart[1] or fair then held for the benefit of commerce; and the period of four years called the Olympiad: all these he cannot so properly be said to have restored, as to have been the first author and institutor of them. For of most of these things there is no mention before his time. Besides, allowing it to be true, that there were Games celebrated at Olympia even so far back as the golden age, and that there was a temple and sacrifices of the same date to Jupiter Olympius; it does not appear any where, as I remember, that all the Greeks were concerned in those sacrifices, or invited to partake in those Games. It should seem, on the contrary, by what has been said above, that they were celebrated at unequal distances of

[1] Vell. Pat. lib. i. c. 8.

time, on private and particular occasions, and in compliance rather with fashion and custom, than in obedience to an ordinance, that required their solemnization at certain and stated periods. If by the Olympic Games be meant what is more generally understood by those words, the gymnastic combats and horse-races exhibited in the *stadium* at Olympia, he cannot be said to have restored the Olympic Games. For Pausanius [2] tells us, that he restored only the foot-race; the other exercises were afterwards added by the authority of the Eleans, according as they discovered or recollected what had formerly been practised in that solemnity.

But Iphitus indeed may with great justice be styled the founder of the Olympic Games. For he seems to have been the first that reduced that festival into a regular and coherent system or form; united the sacred and political institutions; and gave it, by the establishment of the Olympiad, that principle of life and duration, which enabled it to outlive the laws and customs, the liberty, and almost the religion, of Greece.

The occasion of the re-establishment of the Olympic Games was as follows:

Greece at that time being torn in pieces by civil wars [3], and wasted by a pestilence [4], Iphitus,

[2] Lib. v. [3] Pans. lib. v. Phlegon. Euseb. Chron.

[4] In the fragment of Phlegon, (from whence the greatest part of the following account is taken) Lycurgus, the lawgiver of Sparta, and one Cleosthenes of Pisa, are joined with Iphitus in restoring the Olympic Games. That this account, which makes Lycurgus cotemporary with Iphitus, cannot be reconciled with chronology, the reader may see in Sir Isaac Newton's

one of the descendants of Hercules, grandson of Oxylus, and king of Elis, concerned at the calamities under which his country then laboured, had recourse to the oracle at Delphi, for a remedy to those evils; and was told by the Pythoness, that the safety of Greece depended upon the re-establishment of the Olympic Games; the non-observance of which solemnity had, as she told them, drawn down the indignation of the god to whom it was dedicated; and of Hercules, the hero by whom it was instituted. She ordered him therefore, in conjunction with the people of Elis, to set about restoring the celebration of that festival, and to proclaim a truce or cessation of arms to all those cities who were desirous of partaking in the games [5]. The other people of the Peloponnesus, whether jealous of the pre-eminence claimed by the Eleans on this occasion, or from a spirit of discord and dissention, refusing to comply, sent a common deputation to Delphi, ordering their deputies to interrogate the deity very strictly concerning the oracle lately reported to them: but the priestess, ever ready to authorize the schemes of kings and legislators, adhered to her former answer; and commanded them to submit to the directions and authority of the Eleans in the ordering and establishing the ancient laws and customs of their forefathers. The Peloponnesians then

Chronology; even admitting, what seems to be intimated by Phlegon, that there were two kings of Elis named Iphitus, between whom the same author reckons twenty-eight Olympiads to have passed, during which time the solemnization of the Olympic Games was intermitted.—But of this more hereafter.

5 Phlegon.

submitted, and allowed the people of Elis to hold their festival, and proclaim a general cessation of arms. Thus were the Olympic Games established by the authority of Iphitus, king of Elis, under the direction of the Delphic oracle, seven hundred and seventy-six years before the birth of Christ, and nineteen or twenty before the building of Rome, according to the common chronology, but one hundred and forty-nine according to Sir Isaac Newton [6].

In this institution there are three things to be considered: first, the religious ceremonies: secondly, the period or cycle of four years, called the Olympiad; and, thirdly, the games, comprehending the equestrian and gymnastic exercises. Of each of which I propose to give as full and particular an account, as I have been able to collect from the imperfect relations of Pausanias, (who yet is more copious on these subjects than any other ancient author) or from the short, and oftentimes obscure, hints and allusions scattered up and down the works of almost all the Greek writers, as well in prose as in verse.

[6] See Newton's Chron. p. 37, 38.

SECTION III.

OF THE RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

GREECE indeed (says Pausanias [1]) abounds with spectacles, which even in description cannot fail of exciting our admiration: yet (continues he) there is no one solemnity among all these, transacted with so much religious pomp and care as the Eleusinian mysteries and the Olympic Games. But as neither Pausanias, nor any other ancient writer now extant, hath thought fit to give us a complete and circumstantial account of the several rites and ceremonies observed on these solemn festivals, (some of which, especially those in the Eleusinian mysteries, all the Grecians held it unlawful to divulge) we can only frame to ourselves a general idea of the splendour and magnificence with which they were performed, by taking a view of the temples, statues, &c. of the deities to whom they were consecrated. Those of Jupiter at Olympia, which alone relate to my present subject, are thus described by Pausanias, in the fifth book of his journey through Greece.

'The temple of Jupiter,' says he, 'is erected on a consecrated piece of ground, called the Altis, an antique word, appropriated to this sacred inclosure, and made use of by Pindar [2], who tells us that this hallowed area was set apart and dedicated to Jupiter by Hercules himself. The temple is

[1] Lib. v. [2] Olymp. Od. 10.

built in the Doric order, and surrounded on the outside with a *peristyle* or colonnade. The whole edifice is composed of a beautiful sort of marble[3] found in that country. Its height to the roof is sixty-eight feet, its breadth ninety-five, and its length two hundred and thirty. The architect was Libon, a native of that country. This temple is not covered with earthen tiles burnt, but with marble brought from Mount Pentelicus, near Athens, and cut in the form of tiles[4]. On each corner of the roof is placed a gilded vase, and on the top of the pediment a statue of Victory, gilded likewise, under which is hung up a golden shield, with the figure of the Gorgon Medusa carved upon it. The inscription on the shield imports it to have been a gift of the Tanagreans, who, being in

[3] Of this stone or marble, called *porus*, Theophrastus, and Pliny after him, informs us, that it resembled Parian marble in colour and hardness, but was not so heavy.

[4] The art of cutting marble into tiles was so extraordinary, that Byza of Naxus, who first invented it, thought proper to perpetuate the honour of his invention by an inscription, which may be seen in Pausanias.

The famous temple of Minerva at Athens seems, by Wheeler's description of it, to have resembled this in so many particulars, that we may, by reading that description, be enabled more clearly to understand this given by Pausanias of the temple of Olympian Jupiter. They were both probably built about the same time, and each of them adorned with a statue made by the same admirable artist. Wheeler says, that the height of the columns, which run round the temple of Minerva, were forty-two feet; whence by the rules of architecture some judgment may be formed of the whole height of that temple, and perhaps some probable conjecture of the height of this, which Pausanias says was sixty-eight feet, but whether to the top or the bottom of the pediment, I leave the learned to determine.

alliance with the Lacedæmonians, and having obtained a victory over the Argives and Athenians near Tanagra, had consecrated the tenth of the spoils to Jupiter Olympius. On the cornice, which runs round the temple on the outside over the columns, are hung one and twenty gilt shields, a present of Mummius the Roman general, who conquered the Achaians, and took and destroyed Corinth.

'In the front pediment is a piece of sculpture, whose subject is the contest between Œnomaüs and Pelops in the chariot race: each of whom is represented as ready, and just upon the point of entering on the course. In the middle is a figure of Jupiter; on his right-hand stands Œnomaüs, with a helmet on his head, and near him his wife Sterope, one of the daughters of Atlas. Before the horses, which are four in number, appears Myrtilus, the charioteer of Œnomaüs, and behind him stand two other men, who [5], though their

[5] It appears from this passage, and some others in Pausanias, that the ancient Greeks, among whom the arts of statuary and painting, at least the former, were carried to a perfection not yet equalled by the moderns, thought it no disgrace to the finest performances in each of those kinds, to add the names under the several figures, or a general inscription explaining the subject, and pointing out the principal personages therein represented. Whether this was any real disfigurement to those admirable works, I will not take upon me to determine; but it certainly was of use, especially in historical pieces, intended to deliver down to posterity the memory of any great action, and the chief persons concerned in it. Pausanias himself, who seems to have been a very learned antiquarian, found the advantage of those little explanatory inscriptions in many instances, as might easily be shown.

names are not inscribed, seem to be two grooms attending on the horses of Œnomaüs. In the corner of the pediment is represented the Cladeus, a river which next to the Alpheus is held in the greatest honour by the Eleans. On the left hand of Jupiter stand Pelops and Hippodamia, the charioteer of Pelops, his horses and two grooms, and in the angle is figured the river Alpheus. This whole piece of sculpture is the workmanship of Pæonius of Menda, a city of Thrace; but that in the pediment of the back-front was done by Acalmenes, who lived in the time of Phidias, and was second to him alone in art and genius. In this pediment is represented the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ at the marriage of Pirithous. In the middle of the piece stands Pirithous; near him, on one side, appears Eurytion carrying off the bride, and Cæneus coming to the assistance of Pirithous: on the other side, Theseus with his battle-axe combating the Centaurs. Among the Centaurs is one represented running away with a young virgin, and another carrying off a beautiful boy. This subject, as I imagine, was chosen by Acalmenes, because Pirithous, as he had learned from Homer, was the son of Jupiter; and Theseus was the fourth in descent from Pelops. Over the gates of the temple, in like manner, are exhibited most of the labours of Hercules, as the hunting of the Erymanthian boar, the story of the Thracian Diomede, and of Geryon. In one piece Hercules is represented as going to ease Atlas of his burden, and in another as cleansing the stable of Augeas. Over the gates, on the back part of the temple, the same hero is seen fighting with an Ama-

zon, from whom he tears away her belt: there also are figured the stories of the hind, of the Gnossian bull, the Lernæan hydra, the Stymphalian birds, and the Nemean lion.

'As you enter into the temple through the brazen gates, you perceive on your right hand, standing before a column, a statue of Iphitus and his wife Ecechiria, who is putting a crown on the head of her husband. In the inside of the temple also are ranges of columns, which form porticos (or isles) of a great height; between which you pass on to the statue of Olympian Jupiter. There is also a winding stair-case leading up to the roof.

'The statue of the god, which is composed of gold and ivory, is seated on a throne, with a crown upon his head, resembling the leaves and branches of a wild olive. In his right hand he bears a statue of Victory, composed likewise of ivory and gold, holding in her hand a sacred fillet or diadem, and wearing a crown upon her head. In his left-hand is a sceptre of exquisite beauty, inlaid with all sorts of metals, and bearing an eagle perched upon it. The sandals of the god, as also his robe, are of gold. The latter wrought over with all sorts of animals and flowers, particularly lilies. The throne is diversified with gold and precious stones, with ebony and ivory, and painted with the representations of divers kinds of animals. About it also are many figures in sculpture; four Victories, for instance, in the attitude of dancers, round the upper part of each leg of the throne, and two more at each of the feet. On those legs also, which support the forepart of the throne, are carved sphinxes devouring the Theban children, and under the

sphinxes, Apollo and Diana slaying with their arrows the children of Niobe. Between the legs of the throne run four pieces, in the nature of braces. Upon that which fronts the entrance are seven figures; the eighth by some unknown accident has disappeared. Those figures exhibit a representation of such exercises as were practised of old in the Olympic Games, before boys were admitted to contend in them. Tradition, however, informs us, that the figure, which is binding its head with a fillet or diadem, resembled Pantarces, an Elean boy, with whom Phidias was enamoured, and who, in the class of boys, gained the wrestler's crown in the eighty-sixth Olympiad. On the other braces is represented Hercules with his band of warriors fighting against the Amazons. The number of figures in both groups is twenty-nine: Theseus is placed among the assistants of Hercules. The throne, besides its own proper legs, is supported likewise by four columns, of an equal height with the legs, and placed between them. No one is permitted to go under the throne, to view it in the inside, as is allowed at Amyclæ, where I had liberty to view the inside of Apollo's throne. But at Olympia the throne of Jupiter is inclosed by a kind of wall, on purpose to keep the spectators at a distance. That part of the wall which faces the gates of the temple is stained with one colour only, namely, a sky-blue; the other parts are painted by Panænus, who in one piece hath represented Atlas bearing up the heavens, and Hercules standing by, and offering to ease him of his load: in others are seen Theseus and Pirithous; a figure of Greece, and another of Salamis, holding in her hand one of

those ornaments that are usually placed either on the head or stern of a ship. In others are represented the combat of Hercules with the Nemean lion; the violence offered by Ajax to Cassandra; Hippodamia, the daughter of Œnomaüs, together with her mother: and Promethens bound down with chains, and Hercules looking on him. For Hercules, among the other exploits attributed to him, is reported to have released Prometheus from his bonds, and to have killed the eagle which was sent to punish him on Mount Caucasus, where he lay bound. The last piece presents Penthesilea giving up the ghost, and Achilles supporting her; and two of the Hesperides, bringing some of the golden apples, which were committed to their custody.

'This Panænus was the brother of Phidias, and the same who at Athens, in the portico called Pœcile, painted the action of Marathon.

'On the upper part of the throne, over the head of Jupiter, Phidias has placed on one side the Graces; and the Hours (or Seasons) on the other; each, three in number, and alike daughters of Jupiter, according to the poets. The footstool of the god is adorned with golden lions, and a representation of the battle between Theseus and the Amazons; the first exploit of the Athenians against a foreign enemy. The basis, or pedestal, which sustains the whole work, is enriched with many other ornaments, and figures in gold, all of which have some relation to Jupiter; as the sun mounting his chariot, attended by Jupiter and Juno, and one of the Graces, next to whom stands Mercury, and next to Mercury, Vesta. After Vesta is seen Cupid

receiving Venus rising out of the sea, and the goddess Persuasion placing a crown on the head of Venus. Here also are the figures of Apollo and Diana, of Minerva and Hercules, and on the lowest part of the basis, Neptune and Amphitrite, and the moon riding on a horse; for I take it to be a horse, though, according to others, that goddess is carried by a mule, and not a horse. I am not ignorant that some people have undertaken to give the exact dimensions of this statue of Jupiter Olympius, yet I cannot applaud their skill, since it appears to the eye much larger than the dimensions assigned by them. The Eleans tell us, that Jupiter himself bore testimony to the art of Phidias, for that statuary, when he had completed his work, begged of Jupiter to give some token of his approbation, if he was pleased with the performance; upon which, say they, the pavement was immediately struck with lightning, in that place, upon which a brazen urn is still to be seen as a memorial of the miracle. That part of the pavement which is immediately before the statue is composed of black marble, surrounded with a circular rim of Parian marble, raised about it like a step, on purpose to contain the oil that is poured into it, in order to preserve the ivory from being injured by the damps arising out of the ground; the Altis, where the temple is erected, being wet and marshy.'

To this passage, translated from Pausanias, I shall add another, taken from Strabo [6], in which are some particulars relating to this famous statue and the temple, worthy of our observation:

[6] Lib. viii.

'The temple' says he, 'stands in the Pisæan division, little less than three hundred *stadia* distant from Elis; before it is a grove of wild olives, within which lies the Olympic stadium; by it passes the river Alpheus, running from Arcadia southwest into the Triphylian sea. Olympia at first derived its reputation from the oracle of Olympian Jupiter; and though this oracle fell afterwards into decay, yet the temple retained its ancient honour. But its present greatness and magnificence is owing, undoubtedly, to the Olympic Games, and to the number of offerings and donations brought thither from all parts of Greece; among which is a golden statue of Jupiter, presented by Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth. But of all these, the ivory statue of Olympian Jupiter, made by Phidias of Athens, is, by far, the most considerable; the bulk of which is so vast, that the artist seems, in my opinion, to have deviated from the rule of proportion; for although the temple is of the largest size, and the god is represented sitting, yet he almost touches the ceiling with his head; so that were he to rise out of his throne, and stand upright, he would carry the roof along with him [7].

'Phidias was much assisted in the composition, the colours, and particularly in the drapery of this statue, by Panænus, a painter, his brother and fellow-workman; many of whose paintings, and those very admirable, are to be seen up and down the temple. There is a tradition, that Phidias being asked by Panænus, by what pattern or idea he in-

[7] The height of the temple, according to Pausanias, was sixty-eight feet; hence then it appears, that the statue, with its throne and pedestal, was near sixty-eight feet in height.

tended to frame his image of Jupiter, answered, by that given in the following verses of Homer:

> This said, his kingly brow the sire inclin'd,
> The large black curls fell, awful, from behind,
> Thick shadowing the stern forehead of the god;
> Olympus trembled at the' almighty nod [8].'

How well the performance answered the great idea of the statuary, may be conjectured from what Polybius [9] relates of Lucius Æmilius, who, entering into the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, and contemplating the statue, was astonished, and said, that, in his opinion, Phidias was the only man who had succeeded in representing the Jupiter of Homer; and that, though his expectations about Olympia had been raised very high, yet he found they came far short of the truth.

Quintilian remarks of Phidias [10], that he succeeded better in the statues of his gods than of his men; and that, in works of ivory, he indisputably excelled all the world; of which, to say nothing of his other performances, the image of Minerva at Athens, and of Jupiter at Olympia, were evident proofs; whose beauty, continues he, seems to have added reverence even to religion itself; so nigh does the majesty of the work approach to that of the Divinity.

Before this statue hung a veil or curtain, of woollen cloth, dyed in Phænician purple [11], and enriched with Assyrian embroidery; an offering

[8] First Book of Homer, by Tickell.

[9] In Fragment. Polybii, p. 1015. Edit. Casaub. et apud Suidam, voce Φειδίας.

[10] Instit. lib. xii. cap. 10.

[11] Paus. ibid.

made by king Antiochus. This curtain is not drawn up to the roof, like that in the temple of Diana at Ephesus, but let down to the pavement.

I shall not follow Pausanias any further, in his account of the many rich votive offerings or donations, sent to Olympia from almost all parts of the heathen world, and lodged in or about the temple and Altis of Jupiter Olympius; or in the temples of other deities; and in buildings called treasuries, erected at Olympia by several states, in order to receive and keep the presents which at any time they had vowed to Jupiter; and perhaps the money destined to defray the expense of the sacrifices to be made at the solemn festival of the Olympic Games. The reader, who is desirous of knowing more of these several particulars, may find them in Pausanias; a French translation of whose journey through Greece, by the Abbé Gedoyn, was published at Amsterdam, in four vols. octavo, in 1733. In the same author he may likewise see a long list of statues of gods and heroes, of Olympic conquerors, emperors, and kings, &c. to give an account of all which, would carry me too far from my subject, and swell this dissertation to an unreasonable bulk. It may be sufficient to observe, that their number was prodigious, and their value almost inestimable; as they were many of them composed of the richest materials, and made by the most eminent statuaries of Greece. What is here said in general, joined to the description of the statue of Olympian Jupiter, the masterpiece of Phidias, and therefore very justly esteemed one of the wonders of the world, may serve to show how liberal and magnificent the Greeks were, in what

related to the worship of their gods; and to give us a just conception of the pomp and splendour of the Olympic Games, the first and the most august of the four great festivals of Greece [12], by way of eminence styled sacred; a character communicated in some degree to those, who obtained the crowns in the several Games, which were always exhibited in these religious solemnities.

The sacrifices offered to Jupiter upon his festival were answerable to all this magnificence; I say the sacrifices offered at the time of the celebration of the Olympic Games; for though the Eleans [13] paid their devotions to him every day throughout the year, yet Lucian assures us [14] that Jupiter was wont to take it very kindly, if a stranger offered him any sacrifice in the intervals of those games. However, it was then made up to him; for then not the Eleans only, and the candidates for the Olympic crown, but all the principal cities of Greece, made their offerings to the Olympian Jupiter; as may be collected from a passage of Plutarch, in his life of Demetrius [15]. These offerings

[12] The other three were the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games.

[13] Paus. lib. v. [14] De Sacris.

[15] That this was a general custom observed by the Greeks upon their festivals, at the Olympic or Pythian Games, &c. is further evident from the following passage of Livy, who, speaking of the games that L. Æmilius Paulus celebrated at Amphipolis, after his victory over Perseus, has these words: 'Nam et artificum omnis generis, qui ludicram artem faciebant, ex toto orbe terrarum multitudo, et athletarum, et nobilium equorum convenit, et legationes cum victimis, et quidquid aliud deorum hominumque causâ fieri magnis ludis in Græciâ solet.' Lib. xlv. c. 32.

were committed to the care and conduct of deputies solemnly appointed for that occasion, and named Theori. How considerable they were, we may, perhaps, in some measure, guess from those prepared by Jason, against the celebration of the Pythian games. This Jason, by a decree of all the people of Thessaly, had been appointed their general[16], a dignity differing in little, besides the name, from that of sovereign: upon the approach of the Pythian Games, he ordered, by a proclamation, all his cities to fat up so many oxen, sheep, goats, and swine; and though he imposed but a moderate quota upon every city, he got together above a thousand oxen, and more than ten times as many smaller cattle. He promised likewise to reward with a crown of gold that person, who should produce the fattest ox, fit to be put at the head of such a herd of victims. I will not say that the offerings of every city in Greece were to be compared to this of Jason. He represented all Thessaly, and, as the deputy or Theorus of a whole people, collected the contributions of the several states or cities. Athens perhaps, and the other principal states of Greece, might do the same for all the cities that were under their jurisdictions. There are also some private reasons assigned, that may account for the extraordinary preparations made by Jason. He is said to have had some thoughts of aspiring to preside at those Games[17], and to hold, by his own authority, the festival in honour of Apollo.

That private persons also, those especially who

[16] Xen. G. Hist. lib. vi. [17] Xen. lib. vi.

had gained the honour of an Olympic victory, sometimes made very sumptuous sacrifices to Jupiter, may be inferred from what Athenæus relates of Alcibiades, who, having gained the first, second, and fourth prizes in the chariot race, feasted the whole multitude of Grecians, that were gathered together on the account of the Olympic games, with the victims offered to Jupiter. For at all great and solemn sacrifices, the victims were generally shared among those who were invited to the sacrifice, only a small portion of them being consumed upon the altar. And it is probable, that all those, who from several parts of the world were assembled on these occasions at Olympia, were subsisted chiefly by the sacrifices provided by every city of Greece; of one or other of which, every private Grecian had a natural right to partake. This consideration, added to the motives of religion and vanity, whose influence on the Grecians, ever reckoned a superstitious and ostentatious people, was always very powerful, may induce us to conclude, that the whole apparatus of the sacrifices, furnished by every state, was, on this most solemn festival, exceedingly sumptuous and magnificent.

The principal altar [18], upon which the sacrifices to Jupiter were consumed, was placed in the midway between the temples of Juno and Pelops; and was, by way of eminence, distinguished by the name of the altar of Olympian Jupiter. This altar, as some say, was built by the Idæan Hercules; or, as others, by the heroes of the country,

[18] Paus. lib. v.

about two generations later. It was composed (says Pausanias) of the ashes[19] of the victims, mixed up with the waters of the river Alpheus. No other water would do, as both Plutarch[20] and Pausanias pretend; the scholiast upon Pindar's tenth Olympic ode says the same thing; and hence is inferred the great affection which Jupiter is said to have had for that river. These ashes were brought every year on the 19th of March out of the public hall, by the priests or augurs[21]; who, tempering them with the waters of Alpheus, made a sort of plaster, wherewith they crusted over the altar. The whole height of this altar was twenty-two feet; to the top of which, where the victims were burnt, the priest ascended by steps, crusted over in like manner with ashes, from the plinth, or lower basis, where the victims were brought and slain: the circumference of this basis was one hundred and twenty-five feet, and to this they mounted by steps of stone.

During the time of sacrifice the altar was crowned with a garland made of the branches of a wild olive[22].

As it was not possible to temper into mortar the ashes with which this altar was incrusted, with any other water than that of Alpheus, so neither was it lawful to employ, in the burnt sacrifices, any

19 As the altar could not be composed entirely of that material, Pausanias can only mean in this place, that it was daubed, or crusted over, with a kind of mortar made of ashes; and, indeed, he soon after makes use of a word which imports no more.

20 Plut. de Orac. def.

21 Paus. lib. 5.

22 Ibid.

other wood than that of the white poplar. The original of this custom is derived from Hercules, the son of Alcmena, who first brought that tree into Greece, and made use of that wood only in the sacrifices, which he offered to Olympian Jupiter. Among the ministers or servants of the altar, there was one, whose business it was to furnish those who came to sacrifice, as well cities as private people, with these holy faggots, at a certain price.

Besides this statue and altar, thus peculiarly belonging to the Olympian Jupiter, there were many more, both altars and statues, erected to the same god, under different appellations; but as they have no relation to the Olympic Games, I shall pass on (without taking any further notice of them) to some others, that always bore a part in the solemnities of this festival. The chief of these were six altars, consecrated[23] by Hercules to twelve gods, who were always worshipped, two at each altar, by the conquerors in the Olympic Games. The first altar was dedicated to Jupiter and Neptune, the second to Juno and Minerva, the third to Mercury and Apollo, the fourth to Bacchus and the Graces, the fifth to Diana and Alpheus, the sixth to Saturn and Rhea.

There were, besides, several other altars, upon which the Eleans sacrificed on these occasions; whose names, as well as the order of the sacrifices, may be seen in Pausanias. To these may be added others, upon which, it is reasonable to suppose, some or other of the competitors for the Olympic

[23] Schol. ad Pind. Olymp. Od. 6.

olive made their offerings, according as the office of the several divinities, to whom they were consecrated, related to the exercises in which they were severally to engage. Of this number was the altar of Mercury, called *Enagonius*, from his presiding over the gymnastic exercises; this, with another sacred to Opportunity, was placed near the entrance of the *stadium*. The altar of the nymphs, surnamed *Callistephani*, or the nymphs presiding over the crowns of victory. The altars of Good Fortune, of Victory, of Taraxippus, of Neptune, of Castor and Pollux, and many others. And, indeed, there was not a deity in the whole Grecian calendar, who had not either a temple or an altar erected in the Altis, or sacred territory of Jupiter: as if the Eleans had resolved that their Jupiter should be in every thing the copy of Jupiter in Homer: and appear at Olympia with as large a train of deities, as was accustomed to attend his summons upon Mount Olympus [24].

The *Ecechiria*, or cessation of arms, which always accompanied the celebration of the Olympic Games, comes properly under the head of religion, as it owed its original to the authority of the Delphic oracle; and the religious strictness, with which it seems in most instances to have been observed, to the pious respect and veneration with which the Greeks regarded the august solemnity of the Olympic festival. All the cities of Greece, as I have already shown, paid their devotions to Jupiter upon this festival; which, however, in the time of war, some of them must have been necessitated

[24] See Iliad. xx.

to neglect, had not the god opened the passages to his altar, and allowed a safe conduct to his votaries, by enjoining a forbearance of hostilities to all those who were willing to partake of the games instituted to his honour.

It appears from a passage of Thucydides, which I shall produce in a following section, that the Eleans first proclaimed this cessation of arms in their own territories, and then in the cities of those states with whom they were at war; and that it took place from the time of the first proclamation of it at Elis. This was the method when the Eleans themselves happened to be engaged in a war; and I suppose that the same method was observed, even when the Eleans were at peace; the cessation was proclaimed first in Elis, and then in those states which were at war with each other, who were obliged to forbear all acts of hostility from the date of that proclamation; which might easily have been known, if the duration of this truce was fixed and certain, as most probably it was. But, upon both these points, we are reduced to mere conjecture; no ancient writer, that I know of, having given us any clear account of either. The Games, strictly speaking, held but five days; but the candidates for the Olympic crown were obliged to repair to Elis, at least thirty days before the Games; yet, I think, it cannot from thence be certainly inferred, that the cessation commenced thirty days before that festival; though, if it did not, we must suppose that a free passage was granted, on all sides, to those who had entered their names as candidates for the Olympic crown; which they were obliged to do, some time before they repaired in

person to Elis. Perhaps a careful examination of the progress of the Peloponnesian war, a minute detail of which is given by Thucydides, might throw some light upon this matter; but as I have not leisure for such an inquiry, I shall leave it to those who may think it worth their while to engage in it[25]. A cessation of hostilities for some time, both before and after the Olympic Games, was doubtless necessary; and the advantages accruing from it to the whole Grecian name were so apparent and so considerable, that the Eleans thought proper to distinguish Iphitus, the author of it, by erecting a statue to him, even in the temple of Olympian Jupiter, with another emblematical figure (for so I take it to have been) of a woman named *Ecechiria* (a Greek word, signifying a cessation of arms) placing a crown upon his head.

Though, with respect to the other states of Greece, the tranquillity enacted by the laws of the Olympic Games was but short and temporary, the people of Elis had it in their power to enjoy the felicity even of a perpetual peace, had they been wise enough to know how to use or value their immunities. War could never approach their territories, without drawing down upon the invader[26] the vengeance of Jupiter. For Oxylus, being by the Heraclides reinstated in Elis, the kingdom of his ancestors, and appointed guardian or curator of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, obtained of them, under the sanction of an oath, that the whole district of Elis should be consecrated to Jupiter; and that not only those who should invade it, but

[25] See Thucyd. lib. v. c. 49. [26] Strabo, lib. viii.

those who also should not defend it when invaded, should be deemed accursed. Hence it came to pass, that the Eleans not only neglected to fortify Elis and their other towns, but gave themselves up so entirely to agriculture and the pleasures of a country life, that how wealthy soever they were grown, they could not, as Polybius observes, be drawn from thence [27] to inhabit their towns. The consequence was, that Elis indeed grew rich and populous; but as at the same time it lay naked and defenceless, those riches served only to invite an enemy, and that populousness did but augment the calamity of war; which, nevertheless, would hardly have fallen upon them, had they not, of their own accord, departed from the sanctity of their character; and broken down those fences of religion, which the oracle, and the general consent of all Greece, had planted round them. They could not, it seems, be contented with peace, though the greatest of all blessings, while it shackled their ambition; nor were they willing to provide sufficiently against a war, at the expense of forsaking their old manner of living: to which, even in the midst of war, they were entirely addicted: they were, therefore, very justly censured by that wise historian, for having so inconsiderately lost their immunities; and very wisely admonished by him, to retire once more within that magic circle, which, in his opinion, none would have been suffered to pass over with impunity, had any one been daring and impious enough to have attempted it.

They enjoyed their tranquillity, however, for a

[27] Lib. iv.

considerable time, with some few interruptions; occasioned by a dispute between them, the Piseans and Arcadians, relating to the superintendency of the Olympic Games[28]. Yet so great a regard did the Grecians in general pay to these holy people[29], that when any troops were to march through their territories, upon their entering into the borders of the Eleans, they delivered up their arms, which were restored to them again upon their quitting that country[30]. This state of security and peace, while the other cities of Greece were confounding and destroying each other with mutual and intestine wars[31], was accompanied with great simplicity and innocence of manners, the usual attendants of a country life; and Elis, the earthly kingdom of Jupiter, seems in this point also to have resembled his heavenly dominions; from whence, as we are told by Homer[32], that deity had for ever banished *Até*, the goddess of discord and injustice.

SECTION IV.

OF THE OLYMPIAD.

THOUGH the great advantages accruing to history from the institution of the Olympiad be universally acknowledged, yet have historians taken no notice of its original. They have told us, indeed, that it

[28] Paus. lib. v.
[29] Paus. lib. xv.
[30] Strab. lib. viii.
[31] Polyb. lib. iv.
[32] Iliad. Pope's T. xix.

was instituted by Iphitus, and that it was a period or cycle of four years. The ridiculous reason assigned for it by Pausanias, would induce one to believe that they knew no more; and yet it is certain, that the Tetraeteris, or period of four years, was almost as old as the religions of Greece, being used in divers of their sacra, or religious festivals [1]; as the Panathenæa, Musæa, and many other, besides the Olympic Games. The silence of the ancient historians upon this point is so remarkable, that a learned modern [2], who has been at infinite pains to settle the chronology of the ancients, takes great glory to himself for having discovered the true source of this sacred period; and unravelled all the intricacies of the Olympiad. From him, therefore, I shall borrow chiefly what I have to say upon this head.

The Greeks, inquiring of the Delphic oracle concerning their solemn feasts and sacrifices, received for answer, that they would do well to sacrifice καὶὰ τὰ Πάτρια καὶ καὶὰ Τρία, according to the custom of their fathers, and according to three things. Which last words they interpreted to signify days, months, and years. They accordingly set themselves about regulating their years by the sun, and their months and days by the appearances of the moon [3]. By this method, they were in hopes so to order their festivals, and times of sacrifice, as always to make their offerings precisely upon the same days, and the same months in the year; which, they imagined, would be pleasing

[1] Sir I. Newton's Chron. p. 75.

[2] Jo. Scaliger, Animad. ad Eus. Chron. No. 1241.

[3] Geminus apud Sir I. Newton Chron. p. 74.

and acceptable to the gods, and consequently believed that to be the intention of the oracle. This, however, could only happen when the solstitial conversions of the sun, and the equinoctials, should return to the same places in the calendar year. After trying in vain many forms and combinations of years, in order to fulfil the oracle, they at length hit upon one, which seemed to them admirably calculated to solve all difficulties, and answer their purpose. Their year was made to consist of 360 days, with two additional days; and their months of thirty days each; from one of which, however, in the course of four years, they took a day; by this means their Tetraeteris amounted to 1447 days. Sometimes a whole month was intercalated, and then the Tetraeteris consisted of 1477 days. And thus they flattered themselves that they had punctually fulfilled the oracle; for they sacrificed according to the year and the month, because the month was full, as consisting of thirty days; and the years thus made up of complete months, by means of these intercalations, returned to their beginnings, at least pretty near the matter. And this is the reason that the great festivals of the Greeks were solemnized every fifth year, after an interval of four complete years; as, for example, the Panathenæa at Athens, and the Olympic Games in Elis, which were celebrated every fifth year upon the full of the moon. This last circumstance Pindar[4] alone hath discovered to us; and his scholiast at the same time informs us, that those Games were sometimes celebrated in the nine and

4 Olym. Ode 3.

fortieth, and sometimes in the fiftieth month; that is, sometimes in the month which the Eleans call Apollonius; and sometimes in that named by them Parthenius; which seem to answer to our months of July and August. Accordingly we find by Scaliger's tables, that the Olympic new moon fell sometimes in the middle or latter end of July, and sometimes in the beginning of August, for that festival never preceded the summer solstice; which the ancients placed always upon the ninth of July, so that the Olympic moon was the first new moon after the summer solstice. This gave birth to the intercalary month, and occasioned the variation in the Tetraeteris, which consisted sometimes of forty-eight months, and sometimes of forty-nine.

This is the doctrine of the Olympiad, without a perfect knowledge of which, it will be but labour lost, says Scaliger, to go about settling the Grecian chronology.

And indeed, as the Olympiad is the only era which the Greek writers make use of, it will be difficult for a man to understand the dates of facts mentioned by their historians, or to accommodate their chronology to that of other nations, without his previously knowing both the precise time of the year on which every new Olympiad began, and the number of years and months of which that period consisted.

But how necessary a thorough understanding of the Olympiad is to those, in particular, who engage in chronological inquiries, may be easily imagined from its great usefulness in such kind of searches; the consideration of which, transported the great Scaliger almost beyond his sense and reason. For

having pursued his inquiry from the first original, or chaos, if I may so speak, of history, amid the glimmerings of an ambiguous and allegorical tradition, the monsters of a fabulous and hieroglyphic age, and the devious and perplexed conjectures of chronologists, coming at last to the Olympiads, like one, who, after having wandered all night in a wide and pathless forest, unexpectedly discovers, at break of day, a fair and open causeway leading through a rich and cultivated country, thick set with towns and villages, breaks out into the following rapture: 'O! how fortunate is it, that the ancient Greeks should take it into their heads to celebrate, with so much devotion, every fifth year, their Olympic Games. Hail! venerable Olympiad! thou guardian of dates and eras! Assertrix of historical truth, and curb of the fanatical licentiousness of chronologists! were it not for thee, all things would still be covered under the black veil of darkness; since there are many, even at this day, whose eyes are dazzled and blinded at thy lustre! By thy means, not those things only, that have happened since thy institution, but those also that were done before thee, are brought to light; as the destruction of Troy, the return of the Heraclides, the Ionic migration, and many other; for the knowledge of which we are indebted to thy divine assistance; by the help of which, also, we are enabled to fix the dates and epochas of the holy scriptures! notwithstanding what silly and ignorant people advance, who say, that without the holy scriptures there would be no coming at the knowledge of thy epocha; than which nothing can be imagined more absurd and monstrous.'

But notwithstanding this enthusiastic exclamation, chronologers are far from being agreed about the precise time upon which the Olympiads began; some dating them from the victory of Corœbus the Elean, and others[5] throwing their original thirteen, and even eight and twenty Olympiads backwarder. But this was done by the artificial chronologers, who, to accommodate the Olympiads to their systems and computations, have added to their antiquity 112 years, as Sir I. Newton[6] observes. This great man has thought it worth his while to examine their hypothesis, and to endeavour to establish the old chronology upon surer and better principles. I will not presume to say whether he has succeeded in his endeavours or not: that must be decided by far much abler and more learned men. In the meantime, I think it a piece of homage due to the acknowledged supremacy, if I may so speak, of his abilities, from one who in this case must submit to the authority of others, to prefer the authority of Sir I. Newton, before that of any other name in the world.

Chronologists, however, in all their computations, agree to reckon downward from that Olympiad in which Corœbus the Elean was conqueror; with whom also the list of conquerors begins. This list is very useful, since the Greek writers frequently mark the Olympiad by no other designation than the name of the conqueror.

Before I conclude this section, it will not be amiss to take notice, that Eusebius tells us from Africanus, that the word Olympia, in the Egyptian

[5] Eus. Chron. [6] Chron. p. 57.

language, signifies the moon; which was so called, because once in every month she runs through the Zodiac, named Olympus by the old Egyptians. This etymology of the Olympiad, though mentioned by no other author, will appear the more probable, when we consider that the Olympiad was a lunar cycle, corrected, indeed, by the course of the sun; and that the Greeks had their Tetraeteris from Egypt [7]; out of which fertile nursery they likewise originally transplanted their arts and sciences, their learning and philosophy, their religion and their gods.

SECTION V.

OF THE HELLANODICS, OR PRESIDENTS OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

The right of presiding at the Olympic Games was attended with such dignity and power, that the Eleans, who had been in possession of it even from the time of Iphitus, were more than once obliged to maintain their title by force of arms against their neighbours and rivals, the Pisæans and Arcadians: whose pretensions, though founded, as Diodorus Siculus [1] observes, upon no better authorities than old fables and antiquated precedents, were yet esteemed, by these envious or ambitious people, sufficient to authorize a war, and justify their breaking through those sacred laws, which enjoined a

7 See Scaliger in Eus. Chron. and Newton's Chron.

1 Lib. xv. c. 9.

cessation of arms to all the states of Greece during the Olympic festival[2]: for in one of these quarrels, the Pisæans, joining with the Arcadians, who were then at war with the Eleans, entered the territories of Elis at the very time of the celebration of the Olympic Games; and being met by the Eleans, who immediately took to their arms, there ensued a very sharp engagement, in the view of all the Grecians, who were assembled from all parts to see the Games: and who stood peaceably and aloof from danger, with their garlands upon their heads, looking upon the battle; and distinguishing, by acclamations and applauses, every action of bravery on either side. The Pisæans, in the conclusion, having obtained the victory, presided for that time over the solemnity; but the Eleans, afterwards recovering their privilege, left that Olympiad out of their register. They had twice or thrice before obliterated, in like manner, those Olympiads in which the Pisæans had presided; till, irritated at length by the frequent revival of these groundless pretensions, supported only by violence, they, in their turn, made an irruption into the country of the Pisæans, and destroyed the city of Pisa so utterly, that, Pausanias says, in his time there was not so much as a ruin remaining; the whole space of ground, upon which that city had stood, being converted into a vineyard. The city of Olympia, indeed, was in the territory of the Pisæans[3], but was taken from them by the Heraclides; (who, upon their return, made a new division of the Peloponnesus) and was given to the

[2] ib. xv. c. 9. [3] Strab. lib. viii.

Eleans. The Pisæans might from hence derive a claim to Olympia; but could never found any right of superintending those Games, of which the Eleans were the founders, as Strabo observes, and over which they were appointed to preside by the express commands of the Delphic oracle.

The office of *Hellanodic*, or president, was at first exercised by Iphitus alone[4], and continued for the space of two hundred years to be executed by a single person, who was always of the family of Oxylus: but in the fiftieth Olympiad the superintendency of the Games was committed to two, chosen by lot out of the whole body of the Eleans; and in the 75th, the number was increased to nine; three of which had the direction of the equestrian exercises, three presided at the *pentathlon*, and the remaining three had the inspection of the other Games. Two Olympiads after, a tenth was added; and in the one hundred and third Olympiad, the college of Hellanodics consisted of twelve, answering to the tribes of the Eleans, out of each of which was chosen one Hellanodic. The Arcadians shortly after, having vanquished the Eleans, took from them part of their territory; by which means the number of their tribes, and that of the Hellanodics, was reduced to eight; but in the one hundred and eighth Olympiad they returned to the former number of ten, and kept to it ever after.

I cannot find precisely at what time the Hellanodics entered into office; nor how long they continued in it. Pausanius[5] informs us, that for ten months preceding the Games they dwelt together

[4] Paus. lib. v. [5] Lib. vi.

at Elis, in a house appointed for them, and from thence called the *Hellanodiceum:* at which time, I think, one may very reasonably fix the date of their commission. These ten months they employed in qualifying themselves for the high and important character of judges of all Greece, as their title imports: for which end they were carefully instructed in every particular of their duty by a set of officers, called the guardians of the laws; and attended daily in the Gymnasium upon the preparatory exercises of all those who were admitted to be candidates for the Olympic crown. These were obliged to enter their names at least ten months before that festival, and to employ part, if not the whole, of that time at Elis, in exercising themselves; as shall be set forth more fully in a following section. This time of preparation was not more serviceable to the candidates than to the Hellanodics themselves; who were by these means furnished with frequent opportunities of trying their own abilities, exerting their authority, and sliding, as it were, imperceptibly into the exercise of that office, which, as it placed them upon a tribunal to which all Greece was subject, exposed them at the same time to the observation and scrutiny of a most awful and innumerable assembly, whose censure they could not hope to escape, but by the strictest and most exact impartiality.

But as there are other requisites towards the obtaining the character of a wise and impartial judge, besides the knowledge and practice of the laws, the Hellanodics took all imaginable precautions to keep their judgments from any bias, by prohibiting any of their colleagues from contending in the

equestrian exercises; by making it a law to themselves, not to open any of the recommendatory letters brought to them by the Athletes till after the contest was over; and by laying themselves under the obligation of an oath, to proceed according to the strictest equity in those cases wherein they were left to the direction of their consciences alone[6]. This oath was administered to them in the senate-house of the Eleans, before the statue of Jupiter Horcius, upon their finishing the examination of the boys, and the under-aged horses, that offered themselves to contend in the Olympic stadium; the reason of which shall be assigned in another place. That they were sworn also upon their entering into office is very probable, though not mentioned by any author. Another check upon the Hellanodics was the liberty allowed to any one who thought himself aggrieved, of appealing from their sentence to the Senate of Elis; an instance of which is to be met with in Pausanias. Eupolimus, an Elean, having been declared victor in the foot-race by two of the three Hellanodics who presided over that exercise, and the third having given sentence in favour of his antagonist, Leon of Ambracia, Leon appealed to the Senate of Elis, and accused the two Hellanodics of corruption. It appears, however, that their sentence was ratified by the Senate; since we find the name of Eupolimus in the list of conquerors, and an account in Pausanias of a statue erected to him in Olympia.

Their allowing their countrymen to dispute the prize with those of other nations, was objected to

[6] Paus. lib. v.

the Eleans by a king of Egypt[7], to whom, in the pride of their integrity, they had sent an embassy to give an account of the Olympic Games; and to set forth the consummate equity of the laws and ordinances of that institution. That monarch was persuaded they could never preserve their boasted impartiality, when the glory of one of their own countrymen came into competition with that of a stranger; and therefore advised them to amend their institution, by excluding all Eleans: but they did not think fit to follow his advice; and assured themselves, perhaps, that over and above the particular and private obligations of conscience, interest, and honour, the consideration of the greater glory that would accrue to their country from a disinterested and universal impartiality in their awards, would more than countervail the advantages, whether public or private, which might arise from the victory or renown of one of their countrymen. However they might reason, they most certainly acted well; as may be inferred no less from the concurrent testimony, than from the absolute submission of all Greece to their authority and decrees.

The direction and ordering of all matters relating to the Olympic festival, the proclaiming the cessation of arms, the excluding from the sacrifices those who had incurred the penalty of excommunication by refusing to submit to their censures; the increasing or diminishing the number of the exercises, &c. belonged, as I imagine, to the Hellanodics, as well as the superintending the

7 Herodot. lib. ii.

Games, and bestowing the olive-crown; for I understand those authors, who attribute these powers to the Eleans in general, to mean the Hellanodics, who were, for that time and occasion, the delegates and representatives of the Eleans.

This power of excommunicating those who were refractory or contumacious, which seems to have been exercised upon whole nations rather than particular persons, gave the Hellanodics great dignity and authority among the several people of Greece; as the corporal punishments and pecuniary penalties inflicted by their orders upon private offenders, held even the greatest in dread of infringing the Olympic laws; and kept in order that vast assembly, which was composed of men of all ranks and degrees, and of every region and colony of Greece.

That the Hellanodics, in the public execution of their office, were clothed in purple robes, and carried in their hands that usual ensign of magistracy, a wand or sceptre, seems very probable, from several passages collected by Faber, in his Agonisticon[8]; who would infer, likewise, from some other passages cited by him, that they wore crowns; which I will not dispute any otherwise than by observing, that from one of those passages, which I have quoted at the beginning of this section, it appears, that all the Grecians who assisted at the Olympic Games, were adorned with crowns or garlands; and, I believe, that ornament was generally worn by all who attended at any public sacrifice.

[8] Lib. i.

The Hellanodics took their stations at different parts of the stadium. By the Hellanodics in this place, I mean those committees of them, if I may so speak, who were appointed to superintend the several exercises; who were consequently obliged to attend them, in those parts of the stadium where they were exhibited. The others, I suppose, remained in their proper place [9], over-against the priestess of Ceres. The senior Hellanodic had the precedency of the rest.

I shall not detain the reader with enumerating the subordinate officers; they will be occasionally introduced in the following sections: but shall proceed to exemplify the authority of this high tribunal, and the regard paid to it by all Greece, from one or two instances mentioned by the historians.

The first I shall borrow from Pausanias [10]. Calippus, an Athenian, having been convicted of corrupting with money his adversaries in the exercise of the *pentathlon*, the Hellanodics imposed a considerable fine upon each of the offenders: the Athenians, being informed of this sentence, out of regard to their fellow-citizen, deputed Hyperides, one of their greatest orators, to go to the Eleans, and intreat them to remit the fine: but they were not to be moved, either by the rhetoric of Hyperides, or the haughtiness of the Athenians; who, with great disdain, refused to submit to the decree, though for that refusal they were excluded the Olympic Games, till they were told by the Delphic oracle, that the god would not vouchsafe them any

[9] Paus. lib. vi. [10] Lib. v.

answer to their inquiries, unless they paid the penalty demanded by the Eleans. The Athenians submitted, and the Eleans with the money erected six statues to Olympic Jupiter.

The next is taken out of Thucydides; and, though somewhat long, tends to illustrate so many particulars relating to my subject, that I cannot forbear inserting it at large.

This summer were celebrated the Olympic Games; in which Androsthenes, the Arcadian, bore away the prize for the first time in the Pancratium; and the Lacedæmonians were by the Eleans excluded the festival; and not permitted either to sacrifice or contend in the Games, because they refused to pay the penalty which the Eleans, agreeably to the Olympic laws, had imposed upon them, for having attacked a certain castle named Phyrcus, and put soldiers into Lepreus during the Olympic truce. The Lacedæmonians on their part asserted, by their ambassadors, that they were condemned unjustly; alleging, that the truce had not been notified in Sparta, at the time of their sending their troops to Lepreus. The Eleans on the other hand pretended, that the truce had at that very time taken place with them; that they always proclaim it first in their own territories; and that having, under the sanction of that truce, laid down their arms, and expected no further hostilities, the Lacedæmonians had taken that opportunity to do them an injury, as it were, by stealth. In answer to this, it was urged by the Lacedæmonians, that the Eleans, after they had thought themselves injured by the Lacedæmonians, ought not to have notified the truce at all at Sparta; which never-

theless, as if they had then no such opinion of the matter, they had done, after which notification the Lacedæmonians had not committed any hostilities. But the Eleans still adhered to their decree, and would never be induced to own that the Lacedæmonians had done them no wrong. They offered, however, if they would deliver up Lepreus, to remit their own share of the fine, and to lay down for them that portion of it which belonged to Jupiter. The Lacedæmonians not consenting to this proposal, the Eleans further offered, that the Lacedæmonians should not be obliged to deliver up Lepreus, contrary to their inclinations, provided they would go up to the altar of Olympian Jupiter, since they were so desirous of partaking in the sacrifice, and there, in the presence of all the Greeks, swear that they would afterwards pay the penalty imposed upon them. But neither to this proposal would the Lacedæmonians agree; wherefore they were excluded the festival, the sacrifices, and the games; and made the accustomed offerings to Olympian Jupiter in their own territories; while all the other states of Greece, except that of Lepreus, sent their offerings by a solemn deputation to Olympia. The Eleans, however, fearing the Lacedæmonians might attempt by open violence to perform their sacrifices, kept their young men under arms upon constant guard; to whose assistance the city of Argos sent a thousand soldiers, and Mantinea another thousand; there were also some Athenian horse quartered in Argos during the festival.

There happened also another circumstance, which put the whole assembly into a great consten-

nation, lest the Lacedæmonians should fall upon them. One Lichas, a Lacedæmonian, the son of Arcesilans, was scourged publicly in the stadium by the officers appointed for that purpose; because, his chariot having obtained the victory, and having in the proclamation of the conquerors been declared to belong to the Thebans, (the Lacedæmonians being at that time excluded the Games) he had entered the stadium, and with his own hand placed a chaplet on the head of his charioteer; giving to understand by that action, that the chariot belonged to him. Every body, therefore, was exceedingly alarmed; and concluded that this affair would have some very extraordinary consequence. The Lacedæmonians, however, kept quiet; and the festival passed over without any disturbance.

I shall close this section with an observation, that arises naturally from these two last cited passages; *viz.* That the great dignity and authority of the Hellanodics was founded solely upon this power of excommunication; in the exercise of which, however derived to them at the beginning, they were supported by the joint concurrence of the gods, as well as of the men of Greece. On the one hand, we behold the states of Athens, Argos, and Mantinea, sending troops to maintain their sentence against the Lacedæmonians; and the Delphic orator, on the other, refusing to give any answers to the Athenians, till the fine imposed by the Hellanodics upon one of their citizens was discharged. Thus were the two most powerful and martial states of Greece subjected, in their turns, to the authority of a petty and unwarlike

people; which, possibly, we should have some difficulty to believe, were there not many modern examples of mightier, if not wiser nations, than either of the two above-mentioned, having been awed into a submission to a power still more insignificant than that of Elis, by the same edgeless arms, the same *brutum fulmen*. Whether the thunders of the Vatican were forged in imitation of those of Olympian Jupiter, I will not determine; though I must take notice, that many of the customs and ordinances of the Roman church allude most evidently to many practised in the Olympic stadium, as extreme unction, the palm, and the crown of martyrs, and others: which may be seen at large in Faber's Agonisticon.

SECTION VI.

OF THE GAMES, AND OF THE OLYMPIC STADIUM.

How sumptuous and magnificent soever may have been the sacrifices and the ceremonies of the worship paid by the Grecians to Olympian Jupiter, yet may we venture to conclude, that the vast concourse of people who at the time of that festival usually resorted to Olympia from all parts of the world, was chiefly owing to the Games which always accompanied that solemnity; and that by far the greater number came more out of curiosity than devotion. It is, at least, this part of the institution that makes the most considerable figure in the histories and antiquities of Greece, and

presents itself upon all occasions principally, if not singly, to our minds; while, like the spectators of a triumphant procession, we look upon the pomp of sacrifice, the herds of victims, the train of priests, and even the gods themselves, as so many accompaniments only, and ornamental parts of the ceremony, and turn our eyes to the conqueror, whose glory and whose victories engross all our thoughts and attention. How just this observation may be, with regard to the ancient Greeks, I will not here determine; but among the moderns, I believe, there are very few, and those men of learning only, who either think or know any thing of the religious part of this institution; which, for that reason probably, is now never mentioned under any other title but that of the Olympic Games. The remaining part, therefore, of this Dissertation, shall be wholly taken up with an inquiry into the nature, laws, &c. of those Games; in which if, for want of materials, I should not be able to give the reader all the satisfaction he may expect to find, yet enough, I hope, will be said, to give him a juster idea of these famous Games than he may hitherto have conceived; to lessen his contempt, at least, if not excite his admiration, for a set of conquerors, whom their countrymen thought worthy of great honours and immunities; and to show, that even in the institution of these sports, which seem at first sight to have been calculated only for the amusement of the vulgar, a judicious observer may discover many strokes of that civil wisdom and policy, which we have been taught to look for among the philosophers and lawgivers of Greece.

Before I enter upon this inquiry into the Games, it will be necessary to mention a few particulars relating to the place in which they were exhibited. This, by the Greeks, was named the *stadium;* a word, signifying a measure of length, consisting of somewhat above an hundred English paces[1]; which being equal to the space of ground allotted for the foot-race, the course was from thence called the stadium, and the racers were named *stadieis*, or *stadiodromi.* The Eleans, indeed, pretended, that the stadium at Olympia was measured by the foot of Hercules, which being longer than that of an ordinary man, made their stadium longer than any other in the same proportion.

Pausanias[2] informs us, that the Olympic stadium was a terrace composed of earth; on one side of which was the seat of the Hellanodics, and over against them on the other was an altar of white marble, upon which the priestess of Ceres Chamyne, and some virgins, had the privilege to sit and view the Games. At the further end of the stadium was the barrier, whence those who ran the simple foot-race began their course; and there, according to the tradition of the Eleans, was the tomb of Endymion.

These are all the particulars concerning the Olympic stadium that are to be found in Pausanias; for what follows, in the passage just quoted, relates only to the horse-course, and shall be produced when I come to speak of the horse-races. But, to assist the reader in forming a more perfect judgment of the stadium than the foregoing account, taken from Pausanias, can enable him to

[1] See Arbuthnot's Tables. [2] Lib. vi.

make, I shall add, from Wheeler's Travels, a description of the remains of that at Athens, which was built by Herodes Atticus: 'The figure,' says he, 'and bigness of this *stadium* continue, although the degrees [steps] be all taken away. It is a long place, with two parallel sides, closed up circularly at the east end, and open towards the other end; and is about one hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces long, and twenty-six or twenty-seven broad, which gave it the name of a stadium, that length being the ordinary measure among the Greeks; eight of which made a Roman mile. Mr. Vernon measuring it exactly, found it to be six hundred and thirty English feet long; and a just stadium is six hundred and twenty-five feet of Athenian measure; which, it seems, was but very little bigger than the English, but less than the French foot. When Pausanias comes to speak of this place, he tells his readers, that they would hardly believe what he was about to tell them, it being a wonder to all those that did see it in ancient times: and of that bigness, that one would judge it a mountain of white marble, upon the banks of the river Ilissus. It was Herodes Atticus, one of the richest citizens Athens ever had, that built it: to do which he consumed much of the marble of Mount Pentelicus; which now being either all carried away, or buried in the ruins of the place, it looks only like a great and high bulwark cast up in that form. At the end towards Ilissus, there appears yet some stonework; the rest is now but a stadium of earth above ground.'

Though the Olympic stadium does not appear

to have been so splendid as this of Athens, or another at Delphi, built likewise of marble by the same magnificent citizen of Athens, yet we may suppose they were all formed upon the same model, as they were all destined to the same use. In the stadium were exhibited those Games, which are properly called gymnastic.

At either end of the course stood a pillar, the use of which it may be proper to explain; as also to take notice of the several appellations by which these parts of the stadium were distinguished; viz. the barrier and the goal; at one of which the race began, and was finished at the other: but this must be understood only of the simple foot-race, or that instituted by Iphitus; for afterwards, (in the 14th Olympiad) as men grew more exercised, and the reputation of these Games increased, the *diaulus* was added. This was also a foot-race, whose course was double the former; that is, two stadiums, as the word implies. They who ran the diaulus, therefore, or double stadium, turned round the pillar erected for that purpose at the end of the Stadium, and returned to the barrier, where they finished their race.

The *barrier* was at first marked with a straight line, traced along the ground from one side of the stadium to the other: by this line were drawn up, in a row, all the racers, and from thence they began their race: from which custom the barrier, or starting place, was called *grammé*, or the line. This word is also used to signify the end or termination of the course; and, in fact, the diaulus, and all the other races, except the simple foot-race, ended at this line; which, I suppose, is the

true reason of the word grammé. The same may be said with regard to the other names of the barrier and stadium, which are likewise used in both senses.

In process of time a cord was made use of, either conjointly with the line or grammé; or, instead of it, to restrain the impatience of the racers, and keep them from pressing forwards one before another. This cord was stretched across the stadium, at the signal given was let fall at once, and at the same instant the racers started. From this cord, called ὕσπληξ or ὕσπληγξ in Greek, from the resemblance between the noise made by the sudden falling of the cord, and the crack of a whip, which is the primary signification of ὕσπληξ, the barrier received another name.

The other extremity of the stadium had also different appellations, with whose etymologies I shall not trouble the reader. It is sufficient to observe, that both the names and their etymologies arose from the different views in which the end of the stadium was considered. To those who ran the simple foot-race it was the end and termination of the course; in all the other races the racers turned at this end of the stadium round a pillar, in order to return to the barrier, where the *diaulodromi*, or those who ran the diaulus, ended their race: but the *dolichodromi*, or runners in the race called *dolichos*, or the long course, when they came to the barrier, turned again round the pillar erected at that end also, in order to continue their course, which consisted of many diauli, or doublings of the stadium, as shall be more fully explained hereafter. It is proper, how-

ever, to take notice of one of the names given to this extremity of the stadium; because from the explanation of it in Pollux we learn, that the exercises of the *pentathlon* were performed in this part, which was called *bater*.

Having now produced all the particulars relating to the place, in which the gymnastic exercises were performed, that I could collect, or that appeared necessary for the better understanding what is to follow, I shall, in the next place, proceed to give a distinct account of those several exercises: of which I shall treat in the order in which they were introduced into the Olympic stadium.

SECTION VII.

OF THE FOOT-RACES.

THE description of the stadium hath led us into so many particulars of the foot-race, that I shall add very little upon that head, besides an enumeration of the several kinds of foot-races, and the laws and rules observed by the competitors in that exercise.

The first, and indeed the only exercise revived by Iphitus, was the simple foot-race, named the *stadium*, from the length of the course, as has already been observed. Corœbus the Elean stands at the head of the list of conquerors in this exercise; and from them were the Olympiads most commonly denominated: for after the Greeks had

taken up the custom of dating historical events from the Olympiads, they seldom failed, together with the number of the Olympiad, to cite the name of the conqueror: thus, for example, to denote the precise time of the battle of Thermopylæ, they would have told us, that it happened in the first year of the 75th Olympiad, Scammander of Mitylene being conqueror in the stadium, or simple foot-race; which is always signified by that word in the list of Olympic conquerors. The number of the Olympiad was sometimes omitted, and the Olympiad distinguished by no other mark than the name of the conqueror. A sufficient evidence of the great notice which all the different people of Greece were supposed to take of those victories; and an honour so much the more flattering to the conqueror, as he was assured it would not only be diffused over all the parts of the known world, and cited upon many public occasions, but delivered down to the latest posterity in the records and annals of chronologists and historians. This honorary distinction, thus appropriated to the victors in the stadium, was undoubtedly owing at first to the want of rivals to dispute it with them; and continued to them afterwards out of respect to the antiquity and seniority of that exercise: though their victories were obtained with less pains, and consequently with less merit, than those in almost any of the other Games.

In the 14th Olympiad was added the *diaulus*, or double stadium, which I have explained above; and in the next Olympiad the *dolichus*, or long

course. In the two former exercises, fleetness, or agility, seems to be the only quality requisite for obtaining the crown: but in this exercise, whose course consisted of seven, or twelve, or even of twenty-four stadia (for those different measures are assigned to the dolichus by different [1] authors) besides agility and swiftness, a great strength of body and a long wind was necessary for the holding out through so long a course: besides, as the *dolichodromi* were obliged to make many short turnings round the pillars erected at each end of the stadium, the labour of the race was considerably increased, and the activity and skill of the racer put to more frequent and severer trials than in the two former races. But notwithstanding the length of this course, and the swiftness necessary to gain the victory in the other two, there are instances of people, in whom the two qualities of agility and strength, but seldom found together, were yet so eminent as to enable them to obtain the crown in all the three races in one and the same day. Of this number were Polites of Ceramus, and Leonidas of Rhodes [2]; but the latter was by far the most remarkable, having obtained this triple victory for four Olympiads together, and distinguished himself from the whole list of conquerors by the gain of twelve Olympic crowns.

From a passage of Pausanias [3], relating to the former of these two conquerors, it appears, that the racers did not start all together, but that they ran

[1] Potter's Antiq. and Cælius Rhod.
Paus. lib. vi. c. 13. [3] Lib. vi.

in classes, or divisions, to which they were appointed by lot; and the victors in each division ran afterwards together for the prize; and this custom seems, by the last words of the sentence, to be confined to the stadium, or simple foot-race. And, indeed, that course was so short, that it is no wonder the Eleans judged it proper, upon that occasion, to multiply a little the labour of the competitors; especially when they were sure to augment, in the same proportion, both the glory of the victor and the pleasure of the spectators. There is another particular relating to the simple foot-race, intimated in a passage of Themistius, cited by Faber[4], which the passage just now quoted from Pausanias will help us to understand. It seems to have been this: the racers having been distributed by lot into several classes, two of those classes started at the same time, and ran on different sides of the stadium, which was divided into two roads, or courses, by the pillars erected at each end. This conjecture, for it is no better, is rendered more probable by the following words of Statius, (*Thebais, lib.* vi.) wherein it is said, that Idas in the race having laid hold of his antagonist Parthenopæus by the hair, and pulled him back as he was just coming into the goal before him, the victory was adjudged to neither, but the competitors were obliged to run the race over again; and, in order to prevent the like fraud a second time, they were appointed to run on different sides of the course.

[4] Agon. lib. ii. c. 34.

Furit undique clamor
Dissonus; ambiguumque senis cunctatur Adrasti
Consilium: tandem ipse refert, Compescite litem,
O Pueri: virtus iterum tentanda, sed ite
Limite non uno: latus hoc conceditur Idæ:
Tu diversa tene. Fraus cursibus omnis abesto.

As the Olympic Games were a very solemn festival, and were celebrated only every fifth year, and as almost every single man throughout Greece was ambitious of obtaining the honour of an Olympic crown, it is reasonable to suppose that the number of competitors in every kind of exercise was very considerable, especially in the simple foot-race; the lightest of them all. And this might put the Eleans upon the two above-mentioned methods; by the first of which the confusion and other inconveniences arising from a crowd of people running all together in a narrow space were prevented; and by the second some time was saved, which they were under a necessity of husbanding as much as possible, considering that only five days were allotted for the Games; in some of which the contest might often happen to be drawn out into a great length, as the previous apparatus to each of them must needs have taken up a great deal of time.

Though the decision of Arastus, in the above-cited verses of Statius, may seem reasonable and just; yet had any racer in the Olympic stadium been guilty of such a piece of foul play, or fraud as Statius denominates it, for which Idas was sentenced to run the race over again, he would not have escaped with so light a censure from the severer justice of the Hellanodics. The crown

would have been adjudged to his antagonist, and he, perhaps, would have been publicly scourged in the stadium, for having infringed the Olympic laws, which prohibited, under severe penalties, all kinds of fraud and unfair dealing. And to come home to the present point, the competitors in the foot-races were restrained expressly from laying hold of the hair, or any part of the body; from tripping, or even pushing one another aside, as we are told by Tully and Lucian [5].

The competitors for the crown in these exercises (as also in all the gymnastic conflicts) contended naked. Thucydides informs us [6], that anciently it was the custom in the Olympic Games for all the Athletes to wear a sort of scarf about their middle; but that it was left off a little before his time: for so the common reading implies, which Hudson [7] has altered in order to reconcile Thucydides with the many other authors, who affirm that the scarf was laid aside even so early as the 14th Olympiad, some hundred years before the time mentioned by Thucydides.

Eustathius, in his Comment upon Homer's Il. Ψ. relates the accident that gave occasion to the laying aside the scarf. In the 14th Olympiad, one Orsippus, a racer, happened to be thrown down by his scarf tangling about his feet, and was killed; though others say, that he only lost the victory by that fall; but whichever way it was, occasion was taken from thence to make a law, that all the Athletes for the future should

[5] Offic. lib. iii. Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ῥᾳδίως πιστεύειν.
[6] Thucyd. lib. i. c. 6. Edit. Wasse. [7] See Note ibid.

contend naked. This fact is differently told by Pausanias, who says, that Orsippus obtained the victory; and that he is persuaded the scarf was designedly thrown off by Orsippus, who could not be ignorant that a man was more light and disencumbered without a scarf than with one; Paus. lib. i. c. 24. And this account agrees best with an old epigram upon Orsippus, quoted by the Scholiast upon Thucyd. lib. i. sect. 6. Ed. Wasse.

We are informed by Pollux [8], that the racers had sandals, or short buskins upon their feet.

In the 65th Olympiad [9], the race of armed men was added to the Olympic Games: an exercise (says Pausanias) that was judged very proper for military men. This differed in nothing from the stadium, or simple foot-race, but that the competitors ran in armour; for which purpose there were five and twenty brass bucklers kept in a temple at Olympia: the other pieces of armour which they carried in this race, were a helmet and buskins, as may be inferred from Pausanias's [10] description of the statue of Damaretus, who gained the first victory in this kind of race. The same author tells us, at the same time that he describes the statue of this victor, dressed up in these pieces of armour, that in process of time the Eleans, as well as the other Greeks, abolished this custom of running in armour. I cannot find when this happened, nor when the custom of running the diaulus, or double stadium in armour, was first introduced.

[8] Onomast. lib. iii. c. 30. [9] Paus. lib. v. [10] Lib. vi. c. 10.

Pausanias [11] makes mention of one Mnesibulus, who gained the victory in this exercise in the 235th Olympiad.

Having now gone through the several particulars of the foot-races, I shall close this section with a translation of a Greek epigram, taken out of the Anthologia: in which the hyperbole made use of by the poet to raise an idea of the swiftness of the victor, whom he celebrates, is, in my opinion, much prettier, and more uncommon, than the celebrated one of Virgil upon Camilla. It is necessary for the reader to know, that Arias (the person celebrated in this epigram) was of Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, founded originally by Perseus, who, in old fables, is represented as having had wings upon his feet.

On Arias of Tarsus, Victor in the Stadium.

The speed of Arias, victor in the race,
Brings to thy founder [12], Tarsus, no disgrace:
For able in the course with him to vie,
Like him he seems on feather'd feet to fly.
The barrier when he quits, the dazzled sight
In vain essays to catch him in his flight:
Lost is the racer through the whole career,
Till victor at the goal he re-appear.

[11] Lib. x. c. 34. [12] Perseus

SECTION VIII.

OF THE PALÉ, OR WRESTLING.

THE wrestlers were first introduced into the Olympic stadium in the 18th Olympiad, and Eurybatus, a Spartan, was the first who received the wrestler's crown.

Theseus [1] is reported to have been the first who reduced wrestling into a science. The rules laid down by that hero for attaining to a perfection in this science are, I believe, unknown: but there are still to be found in those writers who treat of gymnastic exercises, many parts or divisions of the *palé*, or art of wrestling; by which it will appear to what a degree it was cultivated by the ancients. Some of these I shall take notice of in the following account.

But in the first place I must observe, that as I am writing to an English reader, a great deal of time and trouble may be spared upon this head, so little does the wrestling used among the ancients seem to differ from that now practised in most parts of England; in some of which, I will be bold to say, there are champions who would have made no indifferent figure in the Olympic stadium.

The most remarkable difference between the ancient and modern practice is, that the ancient wrestlers contended naked, and that their bodies

[1] Plut. in Thes.

were rubbed all over with oil, or with a certain ointment [2], composed of a due proportion of oil, wax, and dust, mixed up together, which they called *ceroma*. These unctions were, as some say, peculiar to the wrestlers and pancratiasts, whose combats were thereby rendered more toilsome and various; while each combatant endeavoured to seize upon the other, whose efforts to escape, or break the hold of his antagonist, were assisted by the slipperiness, as well as the force and agility of his body.

But, in order to qualify a little this extreme lubricity of the skin, occasioned by these unctions, the Athletes were accustomed [3], before they came to an engagement, either to roll themselves in the mud of the Palæstra (from which some people derive the words *Palé* and *Palæstra* [4]) or in the sand, kept for that purpose in a place called Κονιςήριον, or that with which the place of combat seems to have been covered, as well for the use just now mentioned, as to prevent the combatants from bruising or injuring themselves in falling; which, were it not for this bed or covering of sand, they would be liable to do. However that be, it is so certain that the Athletes who were anointed, were always, before they engaged, sprinkled with dust or sand [5], that to say an Athlete gained a victory (ἀκονιτὶ) or without being so sprinkled, was the same thing as to say he gained a victory without engaging; which sometimes happened, when, either from the great repu-

[2] Burette 1 Mem. sur les Athletes. [3] Lucian. de Gymn.

[4] Viz. from Πηλὸς, which signifies mud.

[5] See Bur. 1 Mem. sur les Athletes.

tation of the champion, or other reasons, none appeared to encounter with him. This office of anointing and sprinkling the combatants with sand, was sometimes performed by themselves to one another; and sometimes by the officers of the Palæstra, called from thence *Aliptæ*, or anointers. It is to be observed, that all sorts of sand were not equally proper for this use; since Leonatus, one of Alexander's generals[6], was in all the marches of the army followed by camels loaded with sand, which he had caused to be brought from Egypt for his own use.

After the wrestlers were thus prepared for the engagement, they were matched by the judges or presidents of the Games in the following manner:

Into a silver urn, consecrated to Jupiter[7], and brought forth upon this occasion, were cast so many lots or dice, about the bigness of a bean, as answered to the number of the competitors. These lots were all marked with letters; as for example, upon two of them was written the letter A, B upon two others, and so on in an alphabetical order; if the number of combatants required more, there were always two lots marked with the same letter. This being done, the Athletes approached in order, and, invoking Jupiter, put their hands into the urn, and drew out each his lot: to prevent all fraud, an officer appointed for that purpose attended upon every one as he came to draw, and held up his hand before him, to hinder his seeing the letters written upon the lot. When every one had drawn, the *Alytarches*, or one of the presidents

[6] Plut. in Alex. [7] Lucian. in Hermotimo.

of the Games, going round to every athlete in order as they stood, inspected the lots. And thus the two, whose lots were both marked with the same letter, as with A or B, were by him matched and appointed to engage with each other. This was the case when the number of the combatants was even, as four, eight, twelve; but when the number was odd, as five, seven, nine, &c. there was put into the urn, together with the duplicate lots, an odd one, marked with a letter, to which there was none that corresponded. The athlete who was fortunate enough to obtain this lot, was named Ephedrus, was to wait till the others had contended, and was then to take up one of the conquerors. This, as Lucian observes, was a very considerable advantage; as the champion, who by virtue of his lot was to wait till the others had contended, and then engage with one of the conquerors, came fresh and vigorous to the encounter, against an adversary, animated indeed and flushed with conquest, but shattered and exhausted in obtaining it.

This was the method of matching the wrestlers and *pancratiasts*; and for this piece of history we are indebted to Lucian alone, no other ancient author having said any thing upon that subject. It is to be wished that he had gone on a little further, and told us what was done after the first set had finished their combats; with whom was the *Ephedrus*, or odd man, to engage? for, if the number of combatants amounted at first to more than four, it is evident there would be again the same necessity for matching the conquerors as there was at first: and I doubt not but the same method

was observed, and repeated as often as occasion required, till the competitors were reduced to two, one of which was finally proclaimed the conqueror. This appears a much more natural solution of the difficulty than any other hinted at by Mons. Burette [8], and may be further supported by the consideration, that the advantages accruing to the athlete, named Ephedrus, were by this method rendered less unequal. For if the combatants were to be matched, and the lots to be drawn more than once, (which must have often been the case) he might in the second sortition, in which undoubtedly he was included with his antagonists, lose the advantage he had acquired in the former; and the lucky lot might fall to the share of one who had already been engaged, and who might stand in need of the respite thus allowed him by his good fortune.

The wrestlers, being thus matched, proceeded to the combat, in which the victory was adjudged to him who gave his adversary three falls; as is evident, I think, from the famous epigram upon Milo [9], which I intend to produce at the end of this section [10].

If one of the combatants in falling drew his antagonist with him, the contest began afresh, or was rather continued upon the ground, until one, getting uppermost, constrained his adversary to yield the victory. This combat was called *anacli-*

[8] 2 Mem. sur les Athletes.

[9] See Mons. Burette, who is not of the same opinion.

[10] This is also confirmed by the following words of Seneca: 'Luctator ter abjectus perdidit palmam.' Sen. de Ben. lib. v. c. 3.

nopalé, and seems not so much to be a distinct species from, as a modification of, the palé; or an accidental, or, perhaps, artificial variation of the battle: for he who found himself in danger of being thrown, had sometimes recourse to this stratagem of dragging his adversary with him, and trying upon the ground a combat in which he thought himself better qualified to succeed. However, those authors who have written upon the palé, have made this a distinct exercise; and it is not unlikely but it may have been treated as such in the gymnasia, or schools of exercise; where there were masters, whose business it was to give their scholars distinct lessons in every branch of the science they professed to teach: from which custom one may very well account for the many divisions and subdivisions of the palé, and other gymnastic exercises, of which modern writers have made so many distinct species. Of this kind, in all likelihood, was the *acrocheirismus;* so named, because the combatants, during this part of their engagement, held one another only by the fingers, without seizing on any part of the body. This has been reckoned a distinct exercise, and another division of the palé; though, as Mons. Burette very well observes, it seems rather to have been the prelude of the combat, in which the antagonists made trial of each other's strength, or endeavoured, perhaps, by seizing each other's hands, mutually to prevent one another from taking a firmer and more advantageous hold.

Pausanias, in his sixth book [11], makes mention of

[11] Cap. iv.

a statue erected at Olympia to one Leontiscus, a wrestler, who was not so skilful at throwing his adversaries, as successful in extorting the victory from them by squeezing or breaking their fingers. This method of conquering was also practised in the *pancratium* [12], by one Sostratus, with so much success, that he gained from it the surname of *Acrochersites*. What has been related of Leontiscus is a clear proof of what I observed before, namely, that the acrocheirismus was not a distinct species of the palé, or wrestling.

The champion who distinguished himself the most in this exercise was Milo of Crotona, who gained no less than six Olympic, and as many Pythian crowns. There are so many instances of the prodigious strength of this famous wrestler, and most of them so well known, that it would be endless and impertinent to cite them all: but I cannot forbear producing one, as remarkable for the singularity, as the issue of the experiment.

This Milo [13], to give a proof of his astonishing force, was wont to take a pomegranate, which, without squeezing or breaking it, he held so fast by the mere strength of his fingers, that nobody was able to take it from him; nobody but his mistress, says Ælian [14]. But, however weak he may have been with regard to the fair sex, his superior force was universally acknowledged by the men, as will appear by the following epigram:

On Milo the Wrestler.

When none adventur'd, in the' Olympic sand
The might of boisterous Milo to withstand;

[12] Cap. iv. [13] Paus. lib. vi. c. 14. [14] Æl. lib. ii. c. 14.

The' unrivall'd chief advanc'd to seize the crown,
But mid his triumph slip'd unwary down.
The people shouted, and forbade bestow
The wreath on him, who fell without a foe:
But rising, in the midst he stood, and cried,
'Do not three falls the victory decide?
Fortune indeed hath given me one, but who
Will undertake to throw me the' other two?'

SECTION IX.

OF THE PENTATHLON.

Authors differ very much in their account of the exercises of which the *pentathlon* was composed: though I think it is very clear, from some epigrams in the Anthologia [1], that it consisted of leaping, running, quoiting, darting, and wrestling. For it is agreed that the pentathlon is intended to be described in that verse [2], said to be written by Simonides, where these five exercises are enumerated, according to the order in which I have placed them. Yet notwithstanding so venerable an authority, some authors [3] have substituted the combat of the *cæstus* instead of darting; and others pretend, that by the word *pentathlon* no more is to be understood than a game, or trial of skill, consisting of five, and of any five exercises. Upon what authorities these latter found their assertion I can-

[1] Anthol. lib. i. c. 1. Epi. viii. and lib. ii. c. 1. Ep. vii.

[2] Ἴσθμια καὶ Πυθοῖ Διοφῶν ὁ Φίλωνος ἐνίκα
Ἅλμα, Ποδωκείην, Δίσκον, Ἄκοντα, Πάλην.

[3] Potter's Antiq. vol. i. c. 21.

not tell; but this I am sure of, that the combat of the cæstus could never have been originally of that number; because the first victor in the pentathlon was a Spartan [4], whose laws would not have allowed him to engage in the combats of the cæstus. I will not say that the pentathlon consisted always of the five exercises above-mentioned, because we read in Pausanias [5], that the Eleans, from time to time, made frequent changes in the Olympic Games. There may therefore have been some foundation for these various accounts of the pentathlon, which may have been different at different times; but as that which I have given of it seems to be founded upon the best authorities, I shall keep to it, without entering for the present into a description of any other exercises, besides the five above-mentioned, viz. leaping, running, quoiting, darting, and wrestling.

Two of these, namely running and wrestling, have already been very fully explained; I shall therefore only observe upon the former of these two, that I suppose the race in the pentathlon was of the same length with the stadium, or simple foot-race, and regulated by the same laws. We must carry this observation also to the wrestling, which, I suppose, was under the same regulations with the simple palé, or wrestling, treated of in the preceding section.

In the exercise of leaping, wherein the competitors endeavoured to leap beyond one another in length (for I do not find that the height of the leap was taken into the account) the athletes carried

4 Plut. in Apophth. 5 Lib. v.

in their hands pieces of lead, or some other metal[6], made in the form of a half circle, not exactly round, but inclining to an oval. In these there was a place made for the fingers to pass through, in the same manner as through the handle of a shield; and with these weights, called Ἁλτῆρες, (*halteres*) the athletes were accustomed to poize their bodies, and swing themselves forward in the leap. And to say truth, they had need of some assistance, to enable them to perform any thing like what is related of Phayllus of Crotona[7], whose leap is said to have been two and fifty feet long[8]. The same thing is said of Chionis the Spartan.

The quoit, or *discus*, was (according to some authors) of various sizes and figures; though that called the disc of Iphitus, mentioned by Pausanias[9], seems, by what he says of the manner in which the inscription upon it was written, to have been circular; as were those described by Lucian, in his dialogue concerning the gymnastic exercises. 'You took notice' (says Solon to Anacharsis, the other interlocutor in this dialogue) 'of a great lump of brass round and smooth, resembling a small shield, but without a handle or thong. You tried it too, and found it very weighty, and difficult to be taken up, by reason of its smoothness. This mass the athletes throw into the air as far as they

[6] Paus. lib. v. c. 26. [7] Olympion. Ἀναγραφή.

[8] Five and fifty, according to the following inscription under his statue, cited by Eustathius; ad Hom. Odyss. Θ.

Πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα πόδας πήδησε Φάυλος
Δίσκευσεν δ' ἑκαὶὸν, πέντ' ἀπολειπομένων.

[9] Lib. v.

are able, and endeavour with great eagerness and emulation to surpass each other in the length of the cast.' Here we have not only a description of the disc, or quoit, the manner of the contest, and the laws and conditions of the victory, but a proof also, that all the competitors made use of one and the same disc. This is confirmed by the testimonies of Homer [10], Ovid [11], and Statius [12], who mention but one disc in their descriptions of this Game, in contradiction to the pretended authority of a medal of the Emperor M. Aurelius; upon whose reverse are represented four *discoboli*, with each his disc, and some of them with two. The discs also in this medal are of a different figure from that described above, and are perforated in the middle; which explains what some authors [13] tell us of a thong used sometimes by the athletes in throwing the disc. And perhaps there were different sorts of discs made use of by the Greeks and Romans; since Ovid, I observe, calls it *latum discum*, the broad disc, an epithet that agrees very well with its appearance upon the medal. In the Greek writers it is generally represented to be round or globular, or rather approaching to the figure of a lens, and extremely heavy.

The disc was likewise composed of different materials [14], as iron, brass, stone, and sometimes even of wood; and was thrown under-handed, much in the same manner as the quoit is amongst us; from which, however, it differed greatly both in weight and figure, as has been already shewn.

[10] Odyss. lib. viii. [11] Met. lib. x. [12] Theb. lib. vi.

[13] See Potter's Antiq. vol. i. c. 21. and Comment. upon Homer and Ovid, in loc. cit. [14] Pind. Pyth. Ode 1.

Neither did the discoboli aim their quoit at any particular mark, as is the custom with us; their whole endeavours were to throw beyond one another, and he who threw furthest obtained the victory.

The same thing was also observed in the exercise of darting, in which the victory was awarded to him who threw his javelin further than the rest of his antagonists. It appears, however, from a passage in the Scholiast, upon the seventh Nemean Ode of Pindar [15], that there were certain limits or boundaries prescribed, beyond which it was a forfeiture of the prize for an athlete to cast his javelin; and to this custom Pindar himself has frequent allusions. The javelin was sometimes thrown with the bare hand, and sometimes with the help of a thong, wound round the middle.

From some terms appropriated to that part of the stadium in which the pentathlon was exhibited, may be collected some circumstances relating to the three exercises last described. One of these terms is *bater* (Βατὴρ) which seems to have been a low step, from whence the leapers took their rising. Bater was also used to signify the beginning of the *scamma*, another term denoting the area marked out for the exercises of the pentathletes. The word scamma properly signifies a ditch or trench; and this area, as I conjecture, was formed by two parallel trenches drawn from the bater or step above-mentioned into a sufficient length, to serve as boundaries or limits, within which the pentathletes were obliged to leap and to throw the disc

[15] Verse 10th.

and javelin; and which if they transgressed, by leaping or casting the disc or javelin over either of them, they forfeited their pretensions to the victory. This will explain the passage above cited from the Scholiast of Pindar, as well as many expressions in other Greek writers, who speak of leaping, shooting, darting, &c. over the scamma, or τὰ ἐσκάμμενα, trench or trenches, as a fault. Indeed, if the word *terma*, used by Pindar in the passage referred to by his Scholiast, be taken literally to signify the end or termination, it will lead us to suppose there was another trench, drawn across at the end from one parallel to the other; or rather several trenches, as so many marks or limits for the leapers, darters, and discoboli, which in their respective contests they were required not to over-pass. But as the fear of over-passing these marks or limits must check them in their endeavours to outgo each other, upon which the victory depended, I am rather inclined to think that Pindar has used the word *terma* improperly, and that the two side-trenches were the only limits which the pentathletes were forbidden to transgress. But this I submit to better judgments.

The exercise of leaping in the pentathlon was accompanied by flutes, playing Pythian airs, as Pausanias informs us. Whence this custom was derived, I cannot say. And the reason assigned for it by that author, which is certainly not the true one, may induce us to think, that in this matter the ancients were as ignorant as we.

The candidates in the pentathlon, as well as those in all the other gymnastic exercises, contended naked, and were also anointed with oil;

though both these points are called in question by some writers, especially the former; and that, as I suppose, chiefly upon the authority of the forementioned medal of M. Aurelius, which, however, is suspected by the learned not to be genuine.

There are likewise many doubts and difficulties started by some, with relation to the conditions upon which the victory was awarded in the pentathlon; though it seems clear to me, that he who vanquished his antagonists in every one of the five exercises, was alone entitled to the crown. That he who was vanquished in any one of these five contests thereby lost the crown, is evident from the story of Tisamenus related by Pausanias, Lacon. c. 11. which is this: Tisamenus the Elean, of the family of Iamus, had been told by the oracle, that he should gain five very glorious victories, or more literally perhaps, that he should come off successful in five very glorious conflicts. In consequence of which he engaged in the pentathlon at Olympia, but lost the victory; for though he got the better in two of the exercises, having vanquished Hieronymus of Andros, in running and leaping, yet being vanquished in wrestling by the same Hieronymus, he failed of obtaining the crown; and then came to understand, that the victories promised him by the oracle were military victories.

If all hopes of gaining the pentathletic crown were lost to him, who was vanquished in any one trial (which all the candidates except one must be even in the first) it may be demanded, why the vanquished should contend any longer? to this I answer, that the pentathletes were probably obliged by the laws of the Olympic Games to go through

all the five exercises. For Pausanias represents the pentathlon as a very tedious and laborious contest; which representation of it is by no means just, upon the supposition that the victory was decided by a single trial. I could confirm what is here said of the pentathlon by other authorities; but I am unwilling to multiply quotations, and probably no one will think it worth his while to dispute this point.

But though all the competitors except one must have despaired of gaining the crown, even from the very first trial, yet might they still be desirous of carrying on the contest through the four remaining exercises (had they not been required to do it by the Olympic laws), either with a view of signalizing themselves in some of the other contests, or the hopes of ravishing the crown from him, by whose victory they had been excluded from the prospect of obtaining it: which, if not victory, was yet revenge; though revenge in their circumstances might well be deemed a kind of victory neither immoral nor inglorious. In this case indeed it might sometimes happen, that none of the competitors would be entitled to the crown; but even this may be considered as an event, with which the majority of the competitors, at least, if not of the spectators, who upon such occasions are commonly divided into different interests and factions, had as much reason to be pleased, as with the glory accruing to a single person, to the dishonour of themselves or their friends.

Before I conclude this section I must take notice, that Pindar, in his 13th Olymp. Ode, congratulates Xenophon of Corinth upon his having gained

in one day two Olympic crowns; one in the *stadium*, or simple foot-race, the other in the pentathlon; which, says he, never happened to any man before. The reason is, that the regimen of a pentathlete, as both Epictetus and his disciple Arrian inform us, was very different from that of an athlete, who qualified himself for a single exercise alone, as running, wrestling, or any other. Whence, as we are assured both by Plato and Longinus, it seldom happened that a pentathlete, though very eminent in his profession, was able to contend with an athlete in that exercise, as running, for example, or wrestling, to which alone he had applied himself altogether. The same thing may be said of all the athletes in general; who differed from each other in their respective regimens and diets, as much or more than in the several exercises to which they peculiarly applied themselves.

SECTION X.

OF THE CÆSTUS.

The combat of the *cæstus*, which was revived in the 23d Olympiad, was a very rough exercise; in which the victory was most commonly, if not always, stained with blood. For this reason it was held in little estimation by most people. The physicians, who were accustomed upon many occasions to prescribe the use of some or other of the gymnastic exercises, either make no mention of this, or speak of it only to condemn it. Alexander, as Plutarch[1]

[1] In Alex.

tells us, treated it with no more regard: for he never admitted either the cæstus or pancratium among those Games, which he often exhibited during his war in Asia. And indeed, to say nothing of the danger to which the combatants in these two exercises were exposed; and for which the glory alone of the victor, without any other advantage accruing either to himself or his country, was not a sufficient recompence; the regimen observed by those who qualified themselves for these combats, was by no means proper for a soldier. What this was in general, may appear from the account given of it to Philopœmen; who, being exceedingly desirous of becoming a good soldier, had for that reason, with great diligence, exercised himself even from his infancy in the management of his arms, in horsemanship, and wrestling [2]; in the last of which exercises he had made a good proficiency. But being advised by some people to apply himself to those exercises properly called athletic (by which, I think, must be understood the cæstus and the pancratium, in contra-distinction to the palé or wrestling, as appears from this passage), he demanded of them, whether the two professions of an athlete and a soldier were not inconsistent? In answer to this question he was told, that both the habit of body and the way of life of a soldier and an athlete differed in every respect; and consequently they were to be treated differently, both with regard to their regimen and to their exercises: that an athlete was to endeavour by much sleep, perpetual repletion, stated and regular repose and

[2] Plut. in Philopœm.

exercise, to acquire and keep up a certain corpulency; which, by the least variation in his diet or manner of living, was very subject to be lost: whereas a soldier should accustom himself to all sorts of inequalities, to a life full of discomposure and disorder; and above all, to support with ease the want of provisions and the loss of sleep. These reasons determined Philopæmen not only to reject these exercises himself, but to discourage them in others. I will not say these were the reasons that induced Lycurgus to banish the cæstus and pancratium from Sparta, because there is another reason assigned for his doing it, which I shall take notice of in another place; but it is certain that the diet and regimen prescribed by him to his Spartans, resembled much more that of a soldier than that of an athlete. This corpulency, or *polysarcia* (fleshiness) as the Greeks called it, was sought after and cherished by the combatants in the cæstus, as a sort of covering and defence of their bones and muscles, against dry blows and buffets; but was at the same time very improper for a soldier: for, as Epaminondas [3] observed to a fat fellow, whom for his bulk he turned out of the army, it would require three or four shields to cover and defend a belly that hindered a man from seeing his own knee.

On the other hand, there are great authorities to be produced in favour of the cæstus. Hercules and Pollux, demigods, Amycus king of the Bebrycians, and Eryx his grandson, were the first who distinguished themselves in those combats: upon

[3] Plut. Apophth.

his superiority in which Amycus [4] so valued himself as to compel all strangers who touched upon his coast to take up the cæstus, and make trial of his strength and skill in the management of that rude instrument of death; for so it proved to many, who accepting the challenge perished in the combat. But at length the royal athlete met with his match: Pollux encountered, subdued, and slew him, according to Apollonius Rhodius [5]; but that last part of the story is denied by other authors. All however agree, that Pollux handled him roughly enough to make him sensible of the folly which many tyrants have run into, some have suffered by, but which none have reflected upon till they came to suffer; namely, the folly of enacting an unjust and cruel law, which in its consequences may, and often does, happen to recoil upon themselves.

This Amycus is said to have invented the combat of the cæstus.

After him we find it in Homer [6] practised by the heroes of the Iliad, and in Virgil [7] making one among the Games exhibited by Æneas in honour of his father Anchises; in which two authors may be seen a complete description both of the combat, and of the cæstus with which the hands and arms of the combatants were usually bound. This consisted of many thongs of leather, or raw hides of bulls, wound about the hand and arm up to the elbow; and seems to have been invented, as well for a safeguard to those parts upon which the first

4 Apoll. Rhod. lib. ii. Theocr.

5 See the Scholiast, ver. 97, and Theocr.

6 Il. xxv. 7 Æn. v.

fury of the battle generally fell, as for an offensive weapon; though, when it was lined with plates of lead or iron, (which it sometimes was, according to Virgil) one would think it intended chiefly for the latter: but I must take notice, that neither of the three Greek poets who have given us a description of the cæstus, make any mention of plates of lead or iron.

There may possibly have been another intention in binding up the hands of the combatants with thongs of leather, and that is, to prevent their laying hold of each other; from which, as from kicking also, and tripping, they were restrained by the laws of the cæstus.

Pausanias hath helped us to another reason for the custom of binding up the fingers of the combatants, which took its rise from an accident that happened in the Nemean Games. Creugas and Damoxenus[8], two champions of equal strength and skill, having drawn out their combat to the evening, without either's having been able to subdue his adversary, agreed at length to permit each other to strike in his turn where he should think proper, without either of them endeavouring to ward off the blows. Creugas began, and gave Damoxenus a wound upon the head. Damoxenus, being now to take his turn, ordered his antagonist to lift up his arm, and keep it still; and at the same time struck him under the ribs with the ends of his fingers; which by reason of the strength and sharpness of the nails, and the violence of the blow, penetrated into his belly; and Damoxenus following his

[8] Paus. lib. viii. c. 40.

blow, widened the wound, and through it drew out the entrails of his enemy, who died upon the spot. The death of Creugas gave Damoxenus the victory indeed, but not the crown; for the judges of the Games drove him with infamy and indignation out of the stadium; as one who had conquered by treachery, and, by repeating his blows without allowing Creugas to have his turn, had basely violated the conditions agreed upon between them in the hearing of the whole assembly. Creugas was crowned; and the straps of the cæstus, which hitherto, according to the ancient custom, were tied in the palm or hollow of the hand, were from that time brought over the fingers, and fastened upon the wrist.

The ancient cæstus [9] was called μείλιχος or soft; perhaps because it was composed of raw hides, or perhaps to distinguish it from the more modern cæstus. We have already remarked one material difference between them; by which I think it appears, that the former was more fitted to defend the hand and arm of the combatants, (which, I suppose, was its original purpose) and the latter to hurt and annoy the enemy: and it is not unlikely, that as the Grecians began to refine upon the gymnastic exercises, and the science of an athlete, from the encouragement of the public, grew by degrees into a profession;—it is not unlikely, I say, that the cæstus should from time to time receive several additions; and that at length it should be improved by the Romans, who delighted in bloody spectacles, into that terrible weapon described by Virgil.

9 Vid. Paus. ibid.

This conjecture will at least account for the difference observable between that in Virgil, and those described by the Greek poets.

I must also observe, that in Apollonius Rhodius, Amycus the challenger throws down two pair of cæstuses, the choice of which, out of bravery, he leaves to Pollux, without drawing lots, and Pollux, without examining, takes those that were next him. Did the poet borrow this circumstance from any such custom in the public Games? Did the combatants in the Olympic stadium bring their own cæstuses? Did they cast lots for the choice? Or were they furnished by the presidents of the Games with cæstuses of a like form and weight, as Entellus and Dares were by Æneas? I am inclined to think the latter was the method, from a custom observed at Olympia, to furnish the armed racers and the discoboli with shields and discs out of the public treasures.

The combatants in this exercise also fought naked [10], or at most with no other covering than a scarf tied round their middle. They also wore a cap or head-piece, to defend their ears and temples from blows, which in those places might have proved mortal, especially when inflicted by a strong hand, armed with so rude a weapon. These head-pieces were of brass, according to the author of the 'Etymologicum magnum.' It appears, however, from the following epigram of Lucilius, that the consequences of these battles were sometimes very terrible, though the combatants escaped with their lives and limbs.

[10] See Burette.

On a Conqueror in the Cæstus.

This victor [11], glorious in his olive-wreath,
Had once eyes, eye-brows, nose, and ears, and teeth;
But turning cæstus-champion, to his cost,
These, and, still worse! his heritage he lost.
For by his brother sued, disown'd, at last
Confronted with his picture, he was cast.

SECTION XI.

OF THE PANCRATIUM.

'THERE are wonderful disputes, as I hear, (says Cælius Rhodiginus [1]) among the grammarians, concerning the pancratium, who cannot agree what sort of an exercise it was; nor wherein the peculiar excellence of a pancratiast consisted. But notwithstanding (continues he) I think it very easy to decide that question.' And, indeed, from the two passages which he there quotes out of Aristotle and Quinctilian, it seems pretty plain that the pancratium [2] was an exercise that partook both of the cæstus and the palé; by which it is to be understood, that an athlete must borrow many things from each of those sciences to render himself eminent in the

[11] Anthol. lib. ii. c. 1. Ep. i.

[1] Ant. Lect. lib. xiii. c. 30.

[2] This is further evident from the two following passages: σύνθετον ἐκ πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης ἦν τὸ παγκράτιον· ἐξῆν γὰρ τῷ παγκρατιάζειν ἐθέλοντι ὃ μόνοις τοῖς νόμοις τῆς πάλης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πυγμῆς χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ νικῆσαι. Nicephorus Gregoras, apud Synes. περὶ ἐνυπνίων. See Fab. Ag. lib. i. c. 9. Plut. in Sym. lib. ii. Q. 4. οτι γὰρ μέμικται τὸ Παγκράτιον ἔκ τε πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης δῆλον.

pancratium. He must learn to trip, and strike, to box, and grapple with his antagonist; to stand with firmness, fall with advantage, and rise with vigour and celerity; or maintain the combat upon the ground: to attack and to defend, to annoy and resist his enemy, in every attitude; and to employ, in one or other of those purposes, every limb, and nerve, and sinew, all the faculties, and all the strength of his whole body: this is implied in the word pancratium [3]; and is the best account of an exercise, in which the combatants were allowed (under certain restrictions, hereafter-mentioned) to make what use they thought proper of all the arms that nature had given them, both offensive and defensive, and of only those: for neither (as in the cæstus) were their hands and fingers bound up or armed, nor their legs and feet prohibited from joining in the battle, nor were they restrained from striking, as in the palé. They were able, notwithstanding, with no other arms than these, so to mangle and injure one another, that it was thought proper to restrain them in some points [4]; lest a contest set on foot merely for victory and honour should be disgraced by murder or malice, and the combatants be provoked to encounter one another in a manner more becoming beasts than men. An athlete therefore was forbidden to kill his adversary designedly, to dig or pluck out his eyes, to tear him with his teeth, or strike him under the ribs with the ends of his fingers, as was done by Damoxenus to Creugas; notwithstanding which, there was still

3 Pancratium is derived from Πᾶν and Κράτος.

4 See Bur. 2 Mem. sur les Athletes.

room enough left for them to exercise their skill and strength, their courage and resolution: I say resolution, because it was a common practice for a pancratiast to choke the strength and skill of his antagonist by twisting and entangling himself about his legs and arms; and to endeavour by fatigue, and pain, and suffocation, to weary him into a surrender of the victory. All, or most of these circumstances, are to be met with in the story of Arrachion [5], which happened in the fifty-fourth Olympiad. Arrachion was an eminent pancratiast, who in the former Olympiads had already gained two crowns, and was now to encounter with the last of his antagonists for the third: but he having, perhaps, observed by his former combats, in what the superiority of Arrachion consisted, and thinking it better to prevent him, rushed in, and twining his feet about him, seized him at the same time by the throat, which he griped with both his hands. Arrachion, having no other means either of disengaging himself, or annoying an enemy who was thus got within him, and had almost strangled him to death, broke one of his toes; through the extreme pain of which the other was compelled to resign the victory, at the very instant that Arrachion gave up the ghost. Arrachion, though dead, was proclaimed conqueror, and the crown of olive was accordingly set upon his head.

In this short history we may observe the love of glory triumphing on the one hand over the fear of death, and yielding on the other hand to pain, which Milton somewhere styles 'perfect misery.'

5 Paus. lib. viii. c. 40.

And notwithstanding the boasted apathy of the Stoics, philosophy perhaps can find no anodyne against the importunate and impatient power of pain, of so much force and efficacy as the love of glory and the dread of shame; which for that reason was always set in opposition to it by Lycurgus. But as the sense of pain was implanted in mankind by nature for very wise purposes, he endeavoured by the force of habit and education to superinduce among his Spartans a kind of second nature, if not wholly insensible of pain, yet not easily subdued by it. They were accordingly taught, even from their infancy, to set it at defiance; to enter the lists, as it were, and combat with it: while at the same time their friends, their relations, and their parents animated them to the conflict, and recompensed their victory with praise and public honours. To this end many painful disciplines were invented, and many sorts of contests encouraged in Sparta, as rude and bloody as the cæstus or pancratium, which nevertheless their wise legislator absolutely prohibited: for the law of these two exercises requiring that one of the combatants should yield either in words or by stretching out his hand or finger, or by giving some other testimony of his so doing; Lycurgus[6] forbade his Spartans to engage in either of them, because (as he said himself) he would not have them accustom themselves to yield the victory, not even in sport. The Spartans, undoubtedly, from the hardy and athletic course of life into which he had put them, had a much fairer prospect of conquering in these contests than any other

[6] Plut. in Apophth.

people of Greece; but if they failed of the victory (which even in this kind of warfare depends often upon chance and accident, to say nothing of the insurmountable advantages which nature bestows upon some men in preference to all other, and which no force of art or education can pretend to equal) they would then see themselves reduced to the sad necessity, either of publicly disavowing the haughty maxim of Sparta, and breaking her laws, or of unprofitably losing a life, which they might employ to much better purposes in the service of their country[7]. The laws of Sparta commanded a man to die or conquer; and punished with extreme infamy those who saved themselves by flight[8], which is only another form of renouncing the victory: for they were not only excluded from all offices and honours, but it was esteemed ignominious to make any alliances with them by marriage: it was also allowable for any body that met with them to kick and strike them; and the miserable wretches wandered up and down, exposed to the scorn and insults of their countrymen; and bearing about the marks of their infamy, in the coarseness and colour of their habits, and the dejection of their countenances, rendered still more contemptible by being shaved only on one side. Lycurgus, therefore, acted very consonantly with his own laws, in forbidding his Spartans the cæstus and pancratium; and very consistently with his views of rendering them a hardy and warlike people, in permitting and encouraging among them the use of all the other gymnastic exercises. For these admit-

[7] Herod. lib. vii. [8] Plut. in Agesilao.

ting a clear decision of the victory, without the hard condition imposed on the combatants in the cæstus and pancratium, of acting in their own condemnation, allowed the vanquished the secret satisfaction of preserving his mind and spirit at least unconquered [9].

I need not perhaps inform the reader, that the combatants in the cæstus and pancratium were naked, &c. and that the restrictions just now mentioned extended also to the former, as far as the nature of that exercise would allow. As in these two exercises it was necessary to pair the combatants, this we are to suppose was done by lot, in the same manner as the wrestlers were matched in the palé, which has been described in a foregoing section, and therefore need not be repeated here: but I cannot forbear inserting a remarkable story of a Samian athlete named Ægles, who having been dumb from his birth came to the use of speech, by an effect as sudden and surprising as that related of the son of Crœsus: take it in the words of Aulus Gellius, upon whose credit I shall leave it. 'Sed et quispiam Samius Athleta, nomen illi fuit Αἰγλης, cùm antea non loquens fuisset, ob similem dicitur causam loqui cœpisse. Nam quum in sacro certa-

9 This is very well explained by the following passage of Seneca de Benefic, lib. v. c. 3. 'Lacedæmonii vetant suos pancratio aut cæstu decernere, ubi inferiorem ostendit victi confessio. Cursor metam prior contingit, velocitate alium non animo antecessit; luctator ter abjectus perfidit palmam, non tradidit. Cùm invictos esse Lacedæmonii cives suos magno æstimarent, ab his certaminibus removerunt, in quibus victorem facit non judex, non per se ipse exitus, sed vox cedentis et tradere jubentis.'

mine sortitio inter ipsum et adversarios non bonâ fide fieret, et sortem nominis falsam subjici animadvertisset; repentè in eum, qui id faciebat, sese videre quid faceret, magnum inclamavit. Atque is oris vinculo solutus per omne inde vitæ tempus non turbidè neque adhæsè locutus est.' These words import, that Ægles, being a candidate for one of the four sacred crowns, and perceiving the officer who was appointed to match the combatants, fraudulently endeavouring to put a wrong lot upon him, cried out to him with a loud voice, that he saw what he was doing, from which time the band of his tongue being loosed, he continued for the rest of his life to speak distinctly and without hesitation.

If we compare the words 'non loquens,' in the former part of this passage, with those 'non turbidè neque adhæsè,' in the latter part, we may be induced to believe that Ægles, before this accident was not absolutely dumb, but had only a great impediment and hesitation in his speech; which will make the story somewhat less wonderful: but whether in either case the cure was possible or not, I shall leave to the naturalists to determine: and observe, that the fraud which produced in Ægles such a violent agitation, as at once broke all the impediments which tied up the organs of his speech, probably related to the lot of the Ephedrus, or odd man, reserved to engage with one of the conquerors: a lot of the utmost consequence, especially in the cæstus and pancratium; in which a combatant, though victorious, might yet have been so roughly treated, or so much spent, in his former engagement, as to be little able to contest the victory with an antagonist, who came fresh and un-

wounded to the battle. Pausanias, indeed, speaks of a pancratiast named Sostratus, who had an easy method of obtaining the victory: his custom was, to seize fast hold of his adversary's fingers, which he broke, and never quitted his hold till they renounced the contest. This method gained him twelve Isthmian and Nemean, two Pythian, and three Olympic crowns, together with a statue at Olympia, and the surname of Acro-chersites.

SECTION XII.

OF THE HORSE-RACES.

I HAVE now gone through the several exercises which are distinguished by the name of gymnastic; and which, as well from their seniority as their precedence in the celebration of the Olympic Games, have a right in this dissertation to take place of the horse-races; though the competitors in the latter were, generally speaking, men of higher rank[1] and consideration than the athletæ; and the spectacle was in itself, perhaps, more pompous and magnificent.

There were properly but two kinds of horse-races at Olympia, namely, the chariot-race, introduced into those Games in the 25th Olympiad, and the race of riding-horses, which was not admitted till the 33d. All the rest, which I shall take notice of in their order, were little else than modifications of these two.

[1] Isocr. de Bigis

It appears from the story of Œnomaus and Pelops, that the chariot-race was known in Elis, even before the institution of the Olympic Games; which are said by some people to have been celebrated by the latter [2], upon the occasion of his victory over Œnomaus. It may seem therefore a little strange, that neither Iphitus, when he restored these Games, nor the Eleans, who after him had the superintendency and direction of them, should, before the 25th Olympiad, think of reviving an exercise so famous in the traditional history of their own country. For it was in the chariot-race that Pelops [3], the great hero of the Eleans, vanquished Œnomaus, and won Hippodamia, the fair prize for which so many princes before him had hazarded and lost their lives: though possibly that lady, like Ecechiria the wife of Iphitus, may have only been an allegorical personage, and no more be meant by that story, than that Pelops conquered Œnomaus by his superior skill in horsemanship [4]. But whether this conjecture be admitted, or whether Hippodamia be taken for the real daughter of Œnomaus, so named, perhaps, by her father, from a science in which he took himself to excel, it tends either way to prove the great antiquity and estimation of the chariot-race; and brings us back to the question, how it came to pass that it was admitted no earlier into the Olympic Games. This, in all likelihood, was owing principally to the great scarcity of horses throughout all Greece, not only at the time of the revival of those Games, but for

[2] See Section the First. [3] Pindar's Olymp. Ode 1.

[4] The word Hippodamia is compounded of two Greek words, and signifies the art of taming or managing horses.

many Olympiads after; and in the next place to the great expense that attended the breeding and managing of horses; and lastly, perhaps, to the little estimation in which the Olympic Games were held at their re-institution. The olive-crown had not as yet acquired that lustre, which afterwards attracted the ambition even of kings, and engaged the principal men of Greece in a competition for an honour, that was esteemed equal to a Roman triumph.

That the Greeks were at all times but ill provided with cavalry, is manifest through the whole course of their history. At the siege of Troy, when they were able to bring into the field an army of an hundred thousand men, they appear to have had so few horses, and to have known so little of the usefulness of that noble animal, as to employ them in no other service than in drawing their chariots. With these indeed they came thundering to the battle; but with so little order, and in so small a number, that in the equipage of a chariot, it is visible, there was less advantage and convenience than pomp and ostentation. Horses were the possession only of the rich and great, who never failed, in the enumeration of their wealth and treasures, to reckon up their horses and their chariots. This we learn not from Homer only and the poets, who wrote of those early times, or lived near them. Isocrates speaks the same language, in an oration [5] made to be spoken in a court of justice; and to prove the nobility and wealth of the family of Alcibiades, who by his mother's side was descended

[5] De Bigis.

from Alcmæon, uses no other argument, than that Alcmæon was the first Athenian that won a prize in the chariot-race at the Olympic Games.

After the Trojan war, and even after the restitution of the Olympic Games, the same scarcity of horses is observable in Greece. For neither did the Lacedæmonians, the most warlike people of Greece, nor any of the Peloponnesians, as Pausanias [6] informs us, know much of the use of horses, till after the two Messenian wars: from which time the former, as they began to extend their arms beyond the Isthmus, grew sensible of their want of cavalry; and accordingly took care to instruct their youth in horsemanship. Nor were the Athenians, the richest and most powerful people of Greece, better furnished with cavalry than the Lacedæmonians their rivals. To remedy this evil, and encourage the breed and management of horses, Solon, indeed, instituted an order of citizens in his commonwealth, which consisted of such as were of ability to furnish out a horse: and to these he allotted the second rank in the state. Yet we find that at the battle of Marathon [7], though they were to encounter with an enemy whose chief strength consisted in their cavalry, they were utterly destitute of horse [8]: and even after the Persians were entirely driven out of Greece, which may be reckoned the most glorious period of that commonwealth, their whole number of horse, for some time, amounted to no more than three hundred.

From this remarkable scarcity of horses among

[6] Lib. iv. [7] Herod. lib. vi.
[8] Potter's Antiq. vol. ii.

the Grecians may be shown, at the same time, the reason of their being introduced so late into the Olympic Games; and the wisdom of introducing them. Greece was in want of horses; it was, therefore, expedient to do something to procure them: and no method was like to be so effectual as the raising an emulation among particular states and people, by rewarding with public honours those who should excel in the breeding and managing of horses. With this view then, in all likelihood, was the Olympic olive proposed, as the only prize, perhaps, for which the several nations of Greece would equally contend: and the Olympic hippodrome was opened as a theatre, where the several competitors might exhibit their pretensions; and prove their merit in the presence of all Greece. The Olympic Games had now subsisted near a hundred years from the time of their re-institution by Iphitus, not to mention their more remote, though fabulous, original; and consequently began to be looked upon with veneration for their antiquity, and frequently for the sake of the spectacle: which, consisting of almost all the gymnastic exercises, drew to Olympia, not only a great number of candidates for the olive-crown, but a multitude of spectators also from all parts of Greece; who, beholding with pleasure and admiration, and rewarding with applause, the ardour and emulation of those who contended for the prize, insensibly contributed to raise the value of the Olympic chaplet, and kindled in each other a like ambition to obtain it. Upon the introduction, therefore, of the chariot-race, the rich and noble, who are also fond of glory, as appears

from their ostentation and love of flattery, with pride and pleasure laid hold of an occasion, which presented them with the means of obtaining what they could not help admiring with the vulgar, without engaging them at the same time in a competition with them [9]. Alexander the Great would have contended in the foot-race at Olympia, could he have had kings for his antagonists. But, as I have observed, there was no room to object against the meanness of the competitors in the horse-races; in the list of whose conquerors are accordingly to be found kings of all those nations of Greece that were governed by kings, as also the men of the greatest eminency, both for wealth and power, in those commonwealths whose liberty and independence rendered their chief citizens equal, if not superior, to those kings. Of this last number was Alcibiades; who, perceiving (as his son informs us in an oration made for him by Isocrates [10]) that the Olympic Games were held in great honour and admiration by all Greece; and that the glory acquired in those assemblies, where every Grecian was accustomed to display his wealth, and strength, and knowledge, redounded not to the victor only but to his country also, resolved to produce himself at Olympia: but, considering at the same time, that in the gymnastic exercises the generality of the combatants were meanly born, more meanly educated, and inhabitants, perhaps, of mean and inconsiderable cities, he refused upon that account to engage in those combats, (in which, however, he was as well

[9] Plut. in Apophth. [10] Isocr. de Bigis.

qualified to succeed as any one, both from nature and practice) and entered himself a candidate for the equestrian crown: to which no man of a low and poor condition could pretend. And upon this occasion, (says Plutarch [11]) he outshone not only all his competitors, but all who either before or since contended for that crown, in the number and magnificence of his chariots, and in the victories obtained by them: for he brought at once seven chariots into the course, and carried off at the same time the first, second, and fourth prize, according to Thucydides [12]; or third, according to Isocrates [13] and Euripides; the last of whom composed an ode upon the conqueror, part of which is quoted by Plutarch. The poet in this ode compliments Alcibiades upon his having gained at once three prizes: a thing, says he, which no Greek [14] had ever done before him. He takes notice, likewise, of another circumstance attending these victories, which may seem, perhaps, to derogate from the glory of the conqueror, namely, that these victories cost Alcibiades neither trouble nor danger.

And this leads me to consider another point, from which it will more plainly appear that the Eleans, in introducing the chariot-race into the Olympic Games, had the service of the public prin-

[11] In Alex. [12] Lib. vi. [13] De Bigis.

[14] The poet by this must mean that Alcibiades was the only one that ever gained at the same time three prizes in one and the same exercise, as the chariot-race, for example: there are many instances of people, who gained in the same Olympiad three crowns in three different exercises. See Pindar's Olymp. Ode v. and the former section about the foot-race.

cipally in view; for as they offered the Olympic olive to the wealthy, who alone were able to support the great expense that necessarily attends the breeding, keeping, and managing horses, so they did wisely make the conditions of obtaining it as easy to them as possible, by exempting them from the trouble and danger of driving their own chariots, hinted at by Euripides in the ode above mentioned.

No one, however, was prohibited from driving his own chariot; which, in all likelihood, at the first revival of these races, was more practised than the contrary custom of leaving it to the management of others. The office of a charioteer was anciently far from being dishonourable; and the skill of managing horses, which were then used only in chariots, was reckoned among the accomplishments of a hero: but when chariots came to be laid aside in war, which seems to have happened soon after the heroic ages [15], the usefulness, and consequently the reputation, of that art began to diminish by degrees; whence it soon came to be lodged in inferior hands. And it was by no means the business of the Eleans to ennoble it once more, by obliging the masters of the horses to contend in person, and add to the trouble and expense of breeding and maintaining them, the subordinate and painful office of managing and breaking them. This would have been clogging the conditions, and would have disgusted some, and excluded others, from being candidates for a crown, which they might have been willing to de-

[15] Potter's Ant. vol. ii. p. 16.

serve, but unable to obtain in person. Such, at least, would have been the situation of all the states and cities; and ladies, who contended by proxy in the Olympic hippodrome, and received the honours due to that ambition which they were intended to excite; and which was as beneficial to the public in the women as in the men. Cynisca [16], a Lacedæmonian lady of a manly spirit, was the first who gave this example to her sex; encouraged to it by Agesilaus her brother, king of Sparta: who observing some of his countrymen overvaluing themselves upon the number of their horses, and the victories obtained by them at Olympia, prevailed with his sister to show them, by offering herself a candidate for the equestrian crown, that they were more indebted for those victories to their money than their merit. This precedent was afterwards followed by many Macedonian ladies; which shows, at the same time, the prevalency of the fashion, the extensiveness of its influence, and the policy of the Eleans, in forming so comprehensive a scheme, and opening, by that means, a field for the ambition of the women; who contributed equally with the men to the promoting their principal design in admitting chariots into the Olympic Games.

If, notwithstanding what has been just now said, to show the wisdom and policy of the Eleans, in exempting the owners of the horses from contending in person, and yet bestowing the crown upon them, any one should be still inclined to think that the chief honour of an equestrian victory ought, in justice, rather to be conferred on the

[16] Paus. Lacon. Plut. in Agesilao.

charioteer who won it, than upon the owner of the chariot, I shall desire him to take in consideration the following piece of history, told by Plutarch in the life of Alexander.

Philip, king of Macedon [17], having made himself master of Potidæa, received in the same day three messengers: the first of whom brought him an account of a great victory obtained by his general Parmenio over the Illyrians: the second told him, that he was proclaimed conqueror in the race of riding-horses at Olympia: and the third acquainted him with the birth of Alexander. Plutarch tells us, that Philip was mightily delighted with these three pieces of news, without saying which of them gave him the greatest pleasure. The first event, undoubtedly, and the third, tended more directly to the furtherance of his main design; which was no less than that of enslaving all Greece, and of employing afterwards her united forces to conquer, for his glory, the empire of the Persians. The second was less conducive to those views, but less pernicious also to his country. Let the reader determine upon which of the three Philip had most reason to value himself: and whether any of them, according to the strict rule of justice, contended for by those who object to the proceeding of the Eleans, ought to have been placed to his account? For the first he was indebted to Parmenio and his army; for the second, to his rider and his horse: and his wife is shrewdly suspected of having helped him to the third.

[17] Plut. in Alex.

What I have been saying concerning the victors in the chariot-race, will hold equally to those who conquered in the race of riding-horses, mules, &c. in which latter the conditions of obtaining the crown of victory were left as large as in the former, and are to be justified upon the same principles.

But after all, it may seem impertinent to use many arguments with an English reader, to convince him of the wisdom and justice of a proceeding which is every day practised among us; who have also our horse-races and prizes for the victor, established originally with the same view as those of which I am now speaking, and under some of the same regulations: particularly with regard to the bestowing the prize, which with us, as with the Grecians, is conferred upon the owner of the horse that wins the race, and not upon the rider. If this be an injustice, the jockies at Newmarket have great reason to complain; in whose opinion, I dare say, a piece of plate of a hundred guineas is preferable to the glory of a thousand Olympic crowns. I will not say their masters are in the same way of thinking, nor make any further comparison between the customs observed in the horse-races at Olympia, and those in fashion at Newmarket. I shall only take notice, that no kind of fraud or violence was allowed of in the former; the competitors in which contended for glory only: an object seldom heartily pursued by those who are sordid enough either to use or connive at the use of fraud. To return to the chariot-race.

But though the master of the horses, for the rea-

sons above mentioned, was proclaimed the conqueror, yet had the horses their share of honour [18], and were crowned amid the congratulations and applauses of the whole assembly. They who are acquainted with Homer and the poets, will not be surprised at the honours thus imparted to these noble animals, whose nature was by them esteemed not unworthy of a divine original; and whose ardour and emulation in the course seemed to express a sense of glory almost human, and justify the exhortations and expostulations addressed to them in those ancient writings.

A crown was also given to the charioteer, to whose skill and courage the victory was always, in great measure, owing. I say skill and courage, because both the one and the other were absolutely necessary to finish happily a course, which the many short turnings round the pillars, and the number of chariots which sometimes ran together, rendered extremely difficult and dangerous.

To explain the nature of these difficulties and dangers, as well as some particulars relating to the horse-races, I shall here insert a description of the Olympic hippodrome, or horse-course, taken from Pausanias, lib. vi. which is as follows [19]:

As you pass out of the stadium, by the seat of

[18] Pindar's Olymp. Ode 13. Plut. Sym. lib. ii. Q. 4. Paus. lib. vi.

——τιμὰς δὲ καὶ ὠκέες ἔλλαχον ἵπποι,
Οἱ σφίσιν ἐξ ἱερῶν στεφανήφορον ἦνθον ἀγώνων.
Theoc. Id. xvi.

[19] The French translator of Pausanias hath inserted a draught of the Aphesis, or barrier here described, designed by the Chevalier Folard, with which I would willingly have obliged the

the Hellanodics, into the place appointed for the horse-races, you come to the barrier (Ἄφεσις), where the horses and chariots rendezvous before they enter into the course. This barrier in its figure resembles the prow of a ship, with the rostrum, or beak, turned towards the course. The other end, which joins on to the portico of Agaptus, (so named from him who built it, see the preceding book, c. xv.) is very broad. At the extremity of the rostrum, or beak, over a bar that runs across the entrance, (ἐπὶ κανόνος) is placed a figure of a dolphin[20] in brass. On the two sides of this barrier, each of which is above four hundred feet in length, are built stands or lodges, as well for the riding-horses as the chariots, which are distributed by lot among the competitors in those races: and before all these lodges is stretched a cable, from one end to the other, to serve the purpose of a barrier (ὕσπληγγος). About the middle of the brow is erected an altar, built of unburnt brick, which every Olympiad is plastered over with fresh mortar: and upon the altar stands a brazen eagle, which spreads out its wings to a great length. This eagle, by means of a machine, which

reader, had I not, by comparing it with Pausanias, discovered so many mistakes in it, that I thought the following description would give him a clearer idea of the barrier and hippodrome of Olympia without that draught, than with it.

[21] The dolphin here is a symbol of Neptune, surnamed Hippius or Equestrian, from his having produced a horse by striking the earth with his trident, according to the fable: without recollecting this circumstance, the reader might be surprised to meet with the figure of a dolphin in a horse-course. The eagle is a known symbol of Jupiter, to whom the Olympic Games were consecrated.

is put in motion by the president of the horse-races, is made to mount up at once into the air to such a height, as to become visible to all the spectators: and at the same time the brazen dolphin before mentioned sinks to the ground. Upon that signal the cables, stretched before the lodges on either side of the portico of Agaptus, are first let loose, and the horses there stationed move out and advance till they come over-against the lodges of those who drew the second lot, which are then likewise opened. The same order is observed by all the rest; and in this manner they proceed through the beak, or *rostrum;* before which they are drawn up in one line or front, ready to begin the race, and make trial of the skill of the charioteers and fleetness of the horses.

On that side of the course, which is formed by a terrace raised with earth, and which is the longest of the two sides, near to the passage that leads out of the course across the terrace, stands an altar of a round figure, dedicated to Taraxippus, the terror of the horses, as his name imports; of whom more hereafter. The other side of the course is formed not by a terrace of earth, but a hill of a moderate height, at the end of which is erected a temple, consecrated to Ceres Chamyne, whose priestess has the privilege of seeing the Olympic Games.

These are the most remarkable particulars which Pausanias has thought fit to give us, relating to the Olympic hippodrome or horse-race: and though from these we may be able to form a general idea of its figure, yet are there others no less necessary to be known, for the clear under-

standing the nature of the races; such as the length and breadth of the course, the two metas or goals, round which the chariots and horses made their several turnings, with the distance between them; all which we are left to make out by conjecture only.

The hippodrome at Constantinople, of which there are yet some traces remaining, is said by Wheeler to have been about five hundred and fifty ordinary paces long, and about an hundred and twenty broad, and to have been anciently adorned with several excellent ornaments, of which, says he, only three pillars remain for me to give an account of.

The first of these is a pillar (or rather an obelisk) of Egyptian granite, consisting of one stone, about fifty feet long, erected on a pedestal of eight or ten feet above ground. On the north side of the pedestal is a basso-relievo, expressing the manner how this pillar was set up: and another below that representing the hippodrome, as it was before that pillar was set up, with the manner of their horse-races. 'It appears (to make use of his own words) with four principal pillars, with a vacant place in the middle, (where this is now erected) which made the feet all equally distant from each other. The ordinary stadiums of the ancients had but three pillars, being but an hundred and twenty-five paces long, which is a great deal shorter than this. From the first pillar they started their horses, having the word ΑΡΙΣΤΕΥΕ, or courage, written on the pillar given them. At the middle they were called upon to make haste, by the word ΣΠΕΥΔΕ, which was written also on the pillar,

At the last they were to return, riding about the pillar on the further end; therefore it had the word KAMΨON engraven on it. By this basso-relievo is expressed the running of the horses, and the emperor standing in the middle crowning the victor. But what that held up by four pillars, and the other single round pillar were for, we could not conjecture, unless only for ornament.' *Wheeler's Travels*, lib. ii. p. 183.

Whether the Olympic hippodrome was so long and so wide as this of Constantinople, I will not determine; but that it was considerably longer than an ordinary stadium is evident: for as it appears from the basso-relievo above described by Wheeler, and indeed from medals, and many other remains of antiquity, that there were two pillars placed towards the two extremities of the hippodrome, to serve as metas or goals, round which the chariots and horses made several turnings, a large space of ground must necessarily have been left beyond each of those pillars, that the horses, and especially the chariots, might have sufficient room to make their turnings without running against the pillars, or falling foul on one another: and this space must have been large enough to admit of a great number of chariots. It has already been said, that Alcibiades, for his own share, brought at one time seven chariots, and certainly he was not without competitors to dispute the crown with him. Sophocles, in a description of a chariot-race, which I shall insert at the end of this section, speaks of ten, and Pindar of no less than forty chariots, contending at one and the same time. If, therefore, in a space of one hun-

dred and twenty-five paces, the measure of an ordinary stadium, room enough be left beyond the two pillars for a large number of chariots to pass, the length remaining for the race will be much too short. A proportionable space must likewise have been left between the pillars, which divided the course in the middle, and the two sides of the hippodrome.

The *Circus Maximus* (as described by Dion. Hal.) in which the Romans exhibited their chariot-races, was an oval building of three stadia, or eighteen hundred feet in length, and four plethra, or four hundred feet in breadth, with a row of pillars, obelisks, &c. running down the middle; the first and last of which pillars were the metas or goals, round which the chariots and horses made their turnings; but the Romans never suffered more than four chariots, which they called a missus, to start at one time; and of the missus or matches they had commonly twenty-four and sometimes many more, in one day. Now, if it be considered that in the Grecian Games a much greater number of chariots frequently ran together, we may reasonably suppose their hippodromes were at least as capacious as the *Circus Maximus* at Rome: the dimensions of which, however, were much inferior to those of the hippodrome at Constantinople; which, according to Wheeler, were seven and twenty hundred and fifty feet long, and six hundred broad, taking a pace to be equal to five feet.

The length of the course, by which I mean the distance between the two metas or goals, is another point that can be settled only by conjecture,

Had Wheeler set down the distances of those pillars, which he saw standing in the hippodrome at Constantinople, it would have helped us much in this inquiry: but this I shall refer to the ensuing section, and content myself at present with observing, that both the chariots and horses ran several times up and down the course, and consequently made many turnings round the pillars erected at the two extremities. Pausanias informs us, that in the Olympic hippodrome, near that pillar called Nyssé, which I take to be that erected at the lower end of the course, stood a brazen statue of Hippodamia, holding in her hand a sacred fillet or diadem (ταινίαν), prepared to bind the head of Pelops for his victory over Œnomaus: and it is probable, that all the space between the pillars was filled with statues or altars, as that in the hippodrome at Constantinople seems to have been. Here, at least, stood the tripod or table, on which were placed the olive-crowns and the branches of palm, destined for the victors, as shall be shown hereafter.

From this account it may easily be conceived, that in a chariot-race, both the chariot and the driver were exposed to many accidents, arising from the nature of the course. For as they were obliged to make several turnings (about two and twenty in all) round the two pillars, so did every charioteer endeavour to approach as near them as possible, in order to lessen the compass he was obliged to take. A number of chariots pushing all at once for this advantage, which often gave the victory, must necessarily have been in danger

either of running against the pillar, or falling foul upon one another, and in the tumult many must have been broken or overturned, and their drivers thrown out. This was the fate of forty at one time, as may be seen in an Ode of Pindar [21], where the poet fails not to congratulate the conqueror, upon his having singly escaped such a misfortune out of so great a number of competitors. It appears also in the same ode, that the victor was not insensible of the singularity of his good fortune; as an acknowledgment for which he consecrated his chariot to Apollo, in whose treasury at Parnassus it was lodged, uninjured and entire, says the poet, as when it came out of the workman's hands.

And, indeed, when we consider the form of the chariots, the attitude of the drivers, the rapidity of the motion, and the accidents just now mentioned, arising from the nature of the course, and the number of chariots that frequently ran together, we shall wonder less at their being thrown out of their chariots, and put in danger of their lives, than at their maintaining their posts amid so many difficulties, and coming off with safety and success. These chariots, by some figures of them upon ancient medals, &c. seem to have been very low, open behind, but closed up before and on the sides with a kind of parapet, which was sometimes enriched with various sorts of ornaments. There does not appear to have been any seat for the driver, who is therefore always represented standing, and leaning forward to

[21] Pindar's Pyth. Ode 5. See the Scholiast.

the horses. They had but two wheels, and consequently the fore-part of them must have been supported by the horses, which inevitably rendered their motion very unequal, and made it so difficult for the charioteer to keep upon his legs, that nothing but a long course of practice could insure a man from falling in such a situation. Which, therefore, is the most astonishing, the folly or the vanity of Nero?

This great emperor [22], great I mean in power and dominion, but with regard to all the objects of his ambition very little and contemptible, would needs show his skill in the management of a chariot. He chose indeed the noblest theatre, and offered himself a candidate for the Olympic crown. That his appearance might be no less extraordinary than his ambition, and in some measure proportionable to the majesty of an emperor of the world, he entered the hippodrome at Olympia [23] in a chariot drawn by ten horses, which he undertook to drive himself, notwithstanding, says Suetonius, he had formerly, in a certain poem of his, censured Mithridates for the same thing. But the event was by no means answerable either to the flattery of his courtiers, or the vanity of his own expectations. He was thrown out of his chariot, to the great hazard of his life [24]; and though he was put into it again, he found himself unable to finish the race, and desisted. Notwithstanding which, he was proclaimed conqueror, and honoured with the Olympic crown. To return the compli-

[22] Xiph. et Suet. in Nerone.
[23] Suet. ibid.
[24] Xiph. Suet.

ment, at his departure he presented the Hellanodics, or judges of the games, with the sum of 8000 *l.*[25], and all Greece with her liberty. A present that would have done him infinitely more honour than an Olympic victory, or indeed than any victory, had it been frankly and generously bestowed, and not paid down as the price of adulation, and of a complaisance so mean and servile as shows the Grecians to have been as incapable of liberty as they were unworthy of it. For the equestrian crown was not the only thing with which the Eleans complimented Nero: they broke, in obedience to his orders, the most sacred laws of their institution[26], and put off the celebration of the Olympic Games for a whole year, to wait his coming into Greece; as if their business, says Philostratus, had been to sacrifice to Nero instead of Jupiter. What followed after helps us admirably to discover the true value of that liberty which a tyrant bestows: and the vanity and insincerity of those praises and honours that are extorted from slaves and flatterers. Nero, before his departure, pillaged and wasted Greece[27], notwithstanding his pretended grant of liberty; put many people to death, and confiscated the estates of others: and the Eleans, on their part, to revoke as much as in them lay the honours they had conferred on Nero, left out of their public register[28]

[25] Dion in Nerone, 250,000 drachmas, or 8072*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* See Arbuth. Tables.

[26] Philostr. lib. v.

[27] Xiph. in Nero.

[28] See Scaliger ad Euseb. ad Numb. MMLXXII.

that Olympiad, and that alone. Galba[29] afterwards demanded of the Hellanodics, as a debt to the crown, the eight thousand pounds, with which Nero had rewarded their partiality in adjudging to him the equestrian crown.

Upon the day of the race[30], the chariots at a certain signal marched out of the lodges above described, and entering the course according to the order before settled by lot, were there drawn up in a line; but whether abreast, or one behind another, is a question, it seems, among the learned. Eustathius (in his Comment upon Homer[31]) says, the ancients were of opinion that they did not stand in one front; because, it is evident, that he who had the first lot had a great advantage over the other charioteers. The moderns, I believe, are unanimously of the contrary opinion; and can show, that the reason assigned by Eustathius makes not in the least against the method of ranging the chariots all abreast; in which order the charioteer, who stood first, had so clear an advantage over his competitors, as to make it necessary to dispose their places by lot. For as they were to turn round a pillar erected at the farther end of the course, he who had the first place on the left hand was nearer to that pillar, than those who were ranged on his right hand; had a less circle to make upon the turn, and consequently was not obliged to run so great a compass of ground. The advantage, therefore, of the first place, and the

[29] Xiph. in Nero. [30] Paus. lib. vi.

[31] See Pope's Homer, Iliad xxiii. ver. 425.

disadvantage of the last, which was always increased in proportion to the number of chariots that contended together, appeared so considerable to the learned Montfaucon, that he seems to think the success of every charioteer must have depended entirely upon his lot. And, indeed, had they been to turn but once, or could it be supposed that they maintained, throughout the whole race, the same order in which they were first arranged by lot, the place could not have been indifferent with regard to the victory; but, as on the contrary, they were obliged to make twelve turnings round that pillar, and ten round another erected at the hither end of the course, the advantage of the one, and the disadvantage of the other, must have been liable to be lost and recovered many times in the race, by the skill of the charioteers, the swiftness of the horses, or some of those accidents already mentioned. It should also be considered, that though the charioteer, who was placed first on the left hand, had some advantage over the rest by being nearer the pillar, yet he must have oftentimes been straitened for room upon the turn, especially if hard pressed by his competitors, and consequently have been driven so near the pillar, as to endanger the breaking or overturning his chariot. In avoiding, therefore, this danger, and in making these turnings in as little a compass as possible, consisted the chief excellence of a charioteer: as is evident from the large instructions which old Nestor [32] gives his son

[32] Homer's Il. xxiii.

Antilochus upon that head; and from what Theocritus tells us of the education of Hercules [33], whose supposed father Amphitryon himself took the pains to teach him the management of the chariot, though he left all his other exercises to be taught him by other masters.

> But fond Amphitryon with a father's zeal,
> Skilful himself to guide the rapid wheel,
> In his own art instructs his godlike heir,
> And teaches how to rule the whirling car;
> How at the turn with nicest heed to roll,
> Nor break the grazing axle on the goal.

It was, however, as much the business of a charioteer to approach as near as possible to this pillar, as it was to avoid running foul upon it. To this point, therefore, as to a centre, they all tended; and let any one imagine what a noise, what a bustle and confusion, ten, twenty, and sometimes forty chariots [34], must have made, bursting, at the sound of a trumpet [35], all together from the barrier! and pressing all to the same point! What skill and courage in the charioteers! What obedience, what strength and swiftness in the horses! What ardour and emulation in both must have been requisite to maintain the advantages, which their own lots had given them, or to surmount those of their antagonists!

> Seest [36] thou not how, when from the goal they start
> The youthful charioteers with beating heart
> Rush to the race, and panting, scarcely near
> The' extremes of feverish hope and chilling fear;

[33] Idyll. xxiv. ver. 117.
[34] Pindar.
[35] Soph. Electra.
[36] Virg. Georg. iii.

Stoop to the reins, and lash with all their force:
The flying chariot kindles in the course.
And now a-low, and now aloft they fly,
As borne through air, and seem to touch the sky.
No stop, no stay; but clouds of sand arise,
Spurn'd and cast backward on the follower's eyes:
The hindmost blows the foam upon the first:
Such is the love of praise, an honourable thirst!

DRYDEN.

But this was not all; they were to meet with more difficulties, and of another kind, in the middle of the course, and contend with the terrors of a deity, who sometimes snatched the victory from him, who seemed to have carried it away from his competitors. The name of this deity was Taraxippus, a name given him from his office; which was to scare and terrify the horses, who accordingly, as they passed by his altar, which was of a round form, and erected at the further end of the course, were wont to take fright, says Pausanias [37], without any apparent cause: and so great was their consternation, that, regarding no longer the rein, the whip, or the voice of their master, they frequently broke and overturned the chariot, and wounded the driver. The charioteers, therefore, failed not to offer sacrifices to Taraxippus, in order to deprecate his wrath, and render him favourable to them.

I shall not trouble the reader with the various opinions relating to this pretended deity and his terrors, which are to be met with in Pausanias. I am apt to believe, with the French translator of that author, that (if, as Pausanias insinuates, there

[37] Lib. vi. c. 20.

was any thing extraordinary in this matter) the fright of the horses was owing to some artifice of those who presided at the Olympic Games, and who, (as he farther remarks) in order to make the victory more glorious, were willing to make the way to it more hazardous and difficult.

But though the old saying, 'the more danger, the more honour,' may seem to countenance this remark of the French Abbé, ought we not rather to suppose, that the Eleans (whose views in every part of this institution seem to have been directed to some wise purpose) intended by these terrors to exclude the competition of all those whose horses were not thoroughly broke, and taught not to be alarmed at any sudden noise, or unusual appearance? A quality in horses at least as valuable, both for service and pleasure, as fleetness, or any accomplishment acquired in the manage.

I cannot help observing by the way, that the Grecians must have been credulous and superstiti us even to stupidity, and the Eleans consummate masters in all the juggling tricks and artifices of imposture, for a fraud of this nature to have been carried on for so long a time, and in so public a place as the hippodrome of Olympia, in the name of a divinity; and conducted with so much secresy and success, as to bring votaries to his altar with offerings and supplications: but Olympia was not the only place in which this imaginary deity was adored; there was likewise a Taraxippus in the Isthmian hippodrome, as Pausanias informs us; who adds, that in Nemea indeed there was no deity concerned in terrifying the horses, but then there was a rock, standing near

the pillar round which they turned, of the colour of fire, with the brightness of which they were wont to be as much terrified as with that of fire itself: but he observes at the same time, that the terror, which seized the horses at the sight of this rock, was much inferior to that excited by the Taraxippus of Olympia. The same author, speaking afterwards (lib. x.) of the terrors with which the horses were sometimes seized in the Pythic hippodrome, ascribes them to fortune, whom he styles the dispenser of good and evil in all human affairs, and to whom he seems to have recourse merely because there was no Taraxippus at Delphi, nor any terrifying object, like the fiery rock at Nemea, to help him to a solution in a case, which nothing but ignorance and superstition could consider as extraordinary.

Sophocles [38], in his tragedy of Electra, hath given us a very noble description of a chariot-race in all its forms, a translation of which I shall insert in this place, as well for the entertainment of the reader, as for the sake of verifying what has been said above by so unexceptionable an authority.

A Description of a Chariot-Race.

When, on the second day, in order next
Came on the contest of the rapid car,
As o'er the Phocian plain the orient sun
Shot his impurpled beams, the Pythic course
Orestes enter'd, circled with a troop
Of charioteers, his bold antagonists.
One from Achaia came, from Sparta one,
Two from the Libyan shores, well practised each

[38] Ver. 700, &c.

To rule the whirling car; with these, the fifth,
Orestes vaunting his Thessalian mares.
Ætolia sent a sixth, with youthful steeds
In native gold array'd. The next in rank
From fair Magnesia sprung; of Thrace the eighth
His snow-white courses from Thesprotia drove:
From heaven-built Athens the ninth hero came;
A huge Bœotian the tenth chariot fill'd.
These, when the judges of the Games by lot
Had fix'd their order, and arrang'd the cars,
All, at the trumpet's signal, all at once
Burst from the barrier, all together cheer'd
Their fiery steeds, and shook the floating reins.
Soon with the din of rattling cars was fill'd
The sounding hippodrome, and clouds of dust
Ascending, tainted the fresh breath of morn;
Now, mix'd, and press'd together, on they drove;
Nor spar'd the smarting lash, impatient each
To clear his chariot, and outstrip the throng
Of clashing axles, and short-blowing steeds,
That panted on each other's necks, and threw
On each contignous yoke the milky foam.
  But to the pillar as he nearer drew,
Orestes, reining in the near-most steed,
While in a larger scope, with loosen'd reins,
And lash'd up to their speed, the others flew,
Turn'd swift around the goal his grazing wheel.
  As yet erect upon their whirling orbs
Roll'd every chariot, till the hard-mouth'd steeds,
That drew the Thracian car, unmaster'd broke
With violence away, and turning short,
(When o'er the hippodrome with winged speed
They had completed now the seventh career)
Dash'd their wild foreheads 'gainst the Libyan car.
From this one luckless chance a train of ills
Succeeding, rudely on each other fell
Horses and charioteers, and soon was fill'd
With wrecks of shatter'd cars the Phocian plain.
  This seen, the' Athenian with consummate art
His course obliquely veer'd, and steering wide
With steady rein, the wild commotion pass'd

Of tumbling chariots, and tumultuous steeds.
Next, and, though last, yet full of confidence
And hopes of victory, Orestes came:
But when he saw, of his antagonists
Him only now remaining; to his mares
Anxious he rais'd his stimulating voice.
And now with equal fronts abreast they drove,
Now with alternate momentary pride
Beyond each other push'd their stretching steeds.
Erect Orestes, and erect his car
Through all the number'd courses now had stood;
But luckless in the last, as round the goal
The wheeling courser turn'd the hither rein
Imprudent he relax'd, and on the stone
The shatter'd axle dashing, from the wheels
Fell headlong, hamper'd in the tangling reins.
The frighted mares flew divers o'er the course.
The throng'd assembly, when they saw the chief
Hurl'd from his chariot, with compassion mov'd,
His youth deplor'd, deplor'd him glorious late
For mighty deeds, now doom'd to mighty woes,
Now dragg'd along the dust, his feet in air:
Till hasting to his aid, and scarce at length
The frantic mares restraining, from the reins
The charioteers release'd him, and convey'd
With wounds and gore disfigur'd to his friends.
'The just Amphictyons on the' Athenian steeds
The Delphic laurel solemnly conferr'd.'

SECTION XIII.

OF THE SEVERAL KINDS OF CHARIOT-RACES.

THE laws and customs of the chariot-race having been explained in the foregoing section, it remains to take notice only, that these laws were general, and extended equally to all the various species of

chariots; excepting that the length of the race was diminished for some of them, as I shall observe presently.

The chariot first introduced into the Olympic *hippodrome*, and that of which I have been hitherto speaking, was the τέλειον αρμα [1], or complete chariot, so named either because it was drawn by full-aged horses, or because it was drawn by four horses, which number seems to have made a complete set among the ancients. These four horses were all ranged abreast, the two middle ones only were harnessed to the chariot by the yoke, from whence they were called *zygii*, the two side horses were fastened either to the yoke [2], or to some other part of the chariot by their traces, and were called *pareori*, *paraseiri*, *seirophori*, and *seiræi*, and their reins or traces *seiræ* and *pareoriæ*.

Erichthonius, according to Virgil, was the first that drove with four horses, and, according to Manilius, was for that invention honoured with a place among the heavenly bodies.

> *Primus Erichthonius currus, et quatuor ausus*
> *Jungere equos, rapidisque rotis insistere victor.*
>
> Vir. Geor. iii.

> *Quem curru primum volitantem Jupiter alto*
> *Quadrijugis conspexit equis, cœloque sacravit* [3].

Pagondas of Thebes had the honour of first obtaining the prize of this sort of chariot-race in the Olympic Games [4]; as Erichthonius had in the Games called Panathenæa.

[1] Τέλειον signifies *adultus* as well as *perfectus*.

[2] Cælius Rhodig.

[3] Manil. lib. i. p. 12. l. 22. Edit. Scalig.

[4] See Serv. in Virg. loc. cit.

In the ninety-third Olympiad was added the race of the chariot called *synoris*, which was drawn by a yoke, or one pair only of full-aged horses.

The *apené* was a chariot drawn by two mules, after the manner of the *synoris*, as Pausanias tells us, and was introduced into the Olympic Games by one Asandrastus, as we learn from Pindar's Scholiast [5]. I have called it a chariot, though if it resembled the *apené* described by Homer in the xxivth Iliad [6], it should more properly be called a waggon; and indeed that account of it agrees best with what Pausanias says [7], who observes that the race of the *apené* could pretend neither to antiquity nor beauty, and that mules were held in such abomination by the Eleans, that they permitted none of those animals to be bred in their country. And indeed the race of the *apené* was but of a short continuance, having been abolished within a very few Olympiads after its first admission.

Pausanias and the Greek commentator upon Pindar [8], differ so widely in their accounts of the times when the *apené* was admitted and abolished, that it would be in vain for me to endeavour to reconcile them; especially as the latter disagrees even with himself. I shall therefore follow the account of Pausanias, who at least is consistent with himself; and according to whom the *apené* was introduced into the Olympic Games in the seventieth Olympiad, and abolished by proclamation in the eighty-fourth [9].

In the ninety-ninth Olympiad was introduced

5 Olymp. Od. 5.
6 Ver. 266.
7 Lib. v. c. 9.
8 Olymp. Od. 5.
9 Lib. v. c. 9.

the Πώλικον αρμα, which was a chariot drawn by four colts, as is evident from what Pausanias [10] immediately subjoins concerning the Συνωρὶς Πώλων, or chariot drawn by two colts, which, he tells us, was introduced in the hundred and twenty-ninth Olympiad, and that one Belistiche, a Macedonian lady, was the first that carried off the crown in that race.

I shall now endeavour to settle the different lengths of the race assigned to each species of these chariots; a point not yet determined by any author that I know of. In order to this, I shall beg leave to produce two passages, one from Pindar, and another from his Scholiast. That of Pindar is as follows:

> Α. Τῶν νὶν γλυκὺς ιμερ⊖ ἔσχεν
> Δωδεκάγναμπτον περὶ τέρμα δρόμου
> Ἵππων φυτεῦσαι [11].

The words of the Scholiast [3] explaining this passage are, ἤγων ὁ δωδεκάκις οἱ ἀγωνιζόμενοι τεθρίπποις περιήρχοντο· ἢ δωδεκάγναμπτον τὸ ιϐ' γναμπτὰς ἔχον· ἐπειδὴ καὶ ιϐ' δρόμους ἐποίει τὸ τέλειον αρμα τῶν ἵππων, τὸ δὲ πωλικὸν, ή.

Τέρμα, in this passage of Pindar, signifies the pillar erected at the end of the course, round

[10] Lib. v. c. 8.

[11] Olymp. Ode 3. v. 58.

Quarum [arborum, Olivarum scilicet] cùm [Herculem] dulce desiderium habebat, duodecies inflexum circa terminum curriculi equorum plantare.

[12] Σκόλια Νεωτ.

Nempe terminum. Quem duodecies circumibant quadrigæ; vel δωδεκάγναμπτον, utpote duodecim flexus habentem: quandoquidem duodecim cursus perfecit τὸ τέλειον αρμα πώλικον verò ceto.

which the chariots turned, as has been shown, and the epithet δωδεκάγναμπτον applied to that imports, that they turned twelve times round that pillar; and consequently that they ran twelve times up, and as often down the course.

Δρόμος signifies *cursus*, a race or course, and because (as I suppose) the first race[13] at Olympia consisted only of one length of the *stadium*, it came to signify, when applied to the foot-races, the measure of one length of the *stadium*, as is evident from the following passages[14], δίαυλος δρόμος ὁ διπλῶς ἕνα ποιῶν καμπτῆρα, i. e. Dialus est cursus duplex unum faciens flexum: and ὁ δόλιχος ἑπτάδρομος· τρεῖς γὰρ καμπτῆρας εἶχε. καὶ τὸ καμπτῆρος ἥμισυ. Dolichus, cursus septemplex: tres enim flexus habuit, et dimidium flexûs.

But Δρόμος, when applied to the horse-races, signified a course of four *stadia*, as is evident from these words of Hesychius; ἵππιος δρόμος τετρασάδιός τις, and from these of Pausanias, δρόμοι δέ εἰσι τῷ ἱππίῳ μῆκος μὲν δίαυλοι δυω. Now as δώδεκα δρόμως and δώδεκα γναμπτῶς in the above cited passage from the scholiast of Pindar are plainly of the same import, we are to understand by δρόμῳ ἱππείῳ, a course consisting of one turn, or round, once up and down the hippodrome; which whole course, or round, being equal to four stadia, it may from hence be inferred, that the two pillars (viz. that from which the horses started, and that round which they turned) which divided the course into two equal lengths, were two stadia distant from each other, consequently the whole length

[13] The stadium, or simple foot-race

[14] Tzetzes, citatus à P. Fabro Agonist. lib. i. c. 28.

of the race of the τέλειον ἅρμα, or chariot drawn by full-aged horses, consisting of twelve rounds, amounted to forty-eight stadia, or six Grecian miles; that of the πῶλικον αρμα, or chariot drawn by colts, consisting of eight rounds, to two and thirty stadia, or four Grecian miles. A Grecian mile (according to Arbuthnot's computation) was somewhat more than eight hundred paces; an English mile is equal to 1056.

Under the two denominations of the τέλειον αρμα and πῶλικον αρμα, the scholiast of Pindar meant, as I imagine, to comprehend all the species of chariots; which he hath ranked in two classes, not by the number but the age of the horses: as appears from his putting πῶλικον αρμα in opposition, or contra-distinction to τέλειον αρμα. For τέλειος, as I observed before, signifies not only *perfectus*, but *adultus* also. By the words τέλειον αρμα, therefore, in this place, we are to understand a chariot drawn by full-aged horses, which takes in the *synoris*, or chariot and pair of full-aged horses; as well as the τέθριππον, or chariot and four: and by πῶλικον αρμα, a chariot drawn by colts, or under-aged horses, whether four or only two in number. The race of which latter consisted of eight rounds, that of the former of twelve.

That the race of the πῶλικον αρμα, or chariot drawn by under-aged horses, though four in number, consisted only of eight rounds, is evident from the passage of Sophocles, a translation of which was inserted at the end of the preceding section. For as the words σείραιον ἵππον (ver. 742 of the original) prove that the chariot of Orestes was drawn by four horses, so doth the word πῶλοι show that those horses

were under-aged: and whoever considers attentively what is there said about the sixth and seventh round, ἕκτον καὶ ἕβδομον δρόμον, will find reason to conclude, that the accident which befel Orestes happened in the last and eighth round. Though Du Faur thinks it manifest from this very passage, that the chariot-race, at least in the times of Sophocles or Orestes, consisted of no more than seven rounds. But had he observed that the eight chariots, which are there said to have been overturned, were then running the seventh round: and that Orestes, who with the Athenian still continued the race, was thrown out of his chariot some time after; he must have seen that the race consisted of more than seven rounds; and that it consisted precisely of eight we have reason to conclude, from what has been produced from the scholiast of Pindar, relating to the πώλικον ἅρμα, or chariot drawn by under-aged horses.

Indeed, the whole story of Orestes contending in the Pythian Games, was a mere forgery of the poet, to serve the purposes of his tragedy: it is, however, to be presumed, that in order to give it the greater air of truth and probability, he kept close to the laws and customs of those Games. And as the laws and customs relating to the same kinds of exercises, seem to have been the same in the several sacred Games of Greece, it is very allowable in all parallel cases to apply to one what is related of the other. Thus, as we are told by Pindar's Scholiast, that the race of the chariot drawn by under-aged horses consisted of eight rounds in the Olympic Games, we may affirm the same of the same kind of race in the Pythian Games: and in like manner we may conclude, that the signal

for starting was given by the sound of a trumpet in the Olympic chariot-races, from Sophocles having informed us that this was the signal given in the Pythic hippodrome.

SECTION XIV.

OF THE RACE OF RIDING-HORSES.

THAT chariots were in use before riding-horses need not be observed to any one, that is acquainted with Homer; among all whose heroes, Greek and Trojan, there is not one that ever makes his appearance on horseback, excepting Diomedes and Ulysses [1], mounted upon the horses of Rhesus, which they had taken in their expedition by night, after having killed their master in his sleep. It appears, however, by this instance, that neither the heroes, nor the horses, were utter strangers to the art of riding: as by another passage in the fifteenth Idyllia it is evident, that horsemanship was carried even to some degree of perfection, at least in the time of that poet, who lived but in the next generation after the siege of Troy, according to Sir Isaac Newton. The passage [2] last mentioned is as follows:

> Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ ἱπποισι κελητίζειν, &c.
>
> So when a horseman from the watry mead,
> Skill'd in the manage of the bounding steed,
> Drives four fair coursers, practis'd to obey,
> To some great city through the public way:

[1] See Il. K. [2] Il. O. ver. 679. Pope's Il. xv. ver. 822.

Safe in his art, as side by side they run,
He shifts his seat, and vaults from one to one;
And now to this, and now to that he flies:
Admiring numbers follow with their eyes.

I the rather quote this passage, because I find some authors [3] have introduced an exercise like this into the Olympic Games; upon what authority I know not; for I do not find in those books, that I have looked into, mention made of any other race of riding-horses than those of the *celes* and the *calpé*. And as to that particular piece of horsemanship described above, Eustathius in his comment [4] upon Homer tells us, that in the old Scholia it is written, that Demetrius said he had seen a man, vaulting, in the manner described by the poet, from the back of one horse to another, holding the bridles at the same time, and keeping the horses to their speed without any interruption or incumbrance. Which implies, that such a sight was very uncommon; and consequently that no such exercise could ever have been admitted into any of the Games of Greece.

The word κελητίζειν, used by the poet in the beginning of his simile, may possibly have induced some people to imagine, that the riders of the horses called κέλητες, *celetes*, were accustomed to leap from one horse to another, as if that word was a term of the manage, of which the verses that follow after were no more than an explanation. It is certain, however, from a passage in the Odyssey [5], that by ἵππος κέλης Homer meant to signify no

[3] Rollin's Hist. An. tom. v. p. 72. Edit. Amst.
[4] See Barnes in loc.
[5] Odyss. E. ver. 371. See the Scholiast.

more than a riding-horse[6], and consequently that by the word κελητίζειν, which is derived from κέλης, no more is to be understood in this place than simply to ride.

This interpretation of κέλης (*celes*) may be further confirmed by the authorities of Pindar and Pausanias, particularly by a story related in the last mentioned author of a mare[7], named Aura, belonging to one Phidolas, a Corinthian. This mare, says the historian, having accidentally thrown her rider soon after she had started from the barrier, continued the race of her own accord, and turned round the pillar, as if the rider had been still upon her back; upon hearing the trumpet she mended her pace, till coming in before her antagonists, she stopped short over-against the judges of the Games, as conscious of having gained the victory. The victory was accordingly adjudged to her master Phidolas, who, by erecting in return a statue to her honour, intimated to whom the merit of that victory was due.

In this story there are two or three particulars worth observing: as first, there is no mention of any other horse or mare, that shared the victory with Aura; and consequently, in the race called celes, each competitor made use of but one single horse. Secondly, I shall take notice, that the victorious Aura was of the feminine gender, and from

[6] That this is the true meaning of Κέλης is confirmed by the following words of Suidas, Κέλης ὁ μόνος ἵππος, καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τούτου φερόμενος σελλάριος ὁ γυμνός. By which last words also it looks as if the rider was naked, like the athletes who contended in the gymnastic exercises.

[7] Lib. vi. c. 13.

thence take occasion to acquaint the reader, that in all the races, as well of riding horses as of chariots, mares or horses were indifferently used; excepting in the race named *calpé*, in which mares only were employed, as I shall show presently. In the third place, it is observable, that though the rider was thrown off in the very beginning of the race, yet was the crown awarded to Phidolas, the master of Aura; to whom certainly no less was due, than if his mare had conquered under the conduct and direction of her rider.

By the circumstances of Aura's mending her pace upon hearing the trumpet, I think we may conclude, that the trumpet either did not sound during the whole race, but at the last round only, or that it sounded differently in different periods of the course. There was a meaning in the sound of the trumpet, which Aura understood. She was probably an old stager there, or had been made acquainted in the manage with all the rules and customs observed in the hippodrome at Olympia.

The race of full-aged riding horses, of which I have been hitherto speaking, was instituted in the thirty-third Olympiad, and that of the πώλος κέλης, or under-aged riding horse, in the one hundred and thirty-first.

I shall not here enter into the question, how it came to pass that the use of riding-horses was posterior to that of chariots; since that question can be answered only by conjectures. The fact is so notorious, that, according to Mons. Folard[8], chariots were used in war above a thousand years be-

[8] Obser. sur la Battaille de Messenie.

fore there was any such thing as cavalry among the ancients; the use of which, one would imagine, says that gentleman, should notwithstanding have come into their heads before that of chariots. They seem to have had a terrible notion of being mounted upon the back of a horse, and have accordingly made monsters of those people whom they first beheld in that attitude; to which they were not very speedily reconciled. Time, indeed, wore off that amazement by degrees; and their intercourse with other nations not only rendered riding-horses familiar to them, but convinced them likewise of the advantages accruing from the use of cavalry. Whence it came to pass, that an order of *equites*, or horsemen, was instituted in most of their commonwealths: to whom, as in Athens, was allotted the second rank in the state. Upon the same principle, perhaps, was the ἵππος κέλης, or riding-horse, admitted into the Olympic hippodrome, and held in such estimation, that although the race of riding-horses was neither so magnificent nor so expensive, and consequently not so royal, as the chariot-race, yet we find, among the competitors in this exercise, the names of Philip king of Macedon, and Hiero king of Syracuse. To the latter is the first Olympic Ode of Pindar inscribed, in which honourable mention is made of the horse Pherenicus, whose fleetness gained for his master the Olympic crown.

The race of the *calpé* was performed with mares; from whose backs the riders were accustomed to leap towards the latter end, that is, in the last stage or period of the course; and laying hold of the bridles finished the race in that manner. The same custom is still observed, says Pausanias, by those

riders called *anabatæ*, between whom and the riders in the *calpé* there is no other difference, than that the *anabatæ* are distinguished by some particular marks, which they carry about them, and ride upon horses instead of mares. The race of the *calpé* was instituted in the seventy-first Olympiad, and, together with the *apené*, abolished in the eighty-fourth.

We are not to conclude from what Pausanias says of the *anabatæ*, that the *calpé* was afterwards revived under another name, and admitted again into the Olympic Games, with those alterations he speaks of. Had this been the case, he would undoubtedly have told us so expressly, after having been so particular in his account of the times in which the *calpé* was instituted and abolished.

I cannot give the reader any information of the length of this race, nor of those of the *celes:* but I think it reasonable to suppose, that the latter, distinguished, as has been observed, into two classes, one of full-aged, and the other of under-aged horses, consisted of the same number of rounds as those of the chariots, distinguished in like manner into two classes.

Neither can I determine the different ages that ranked the horses in one or the other class; nor whether the weight of the riders, or the sizes of the horses, were taken into consideration. All I can say to it is, that those points seem to have been left to the discretion of the Hellanodics, who were appointed to examine the young horses that were entered to run for any of the equestrian crowns [9], and who were sworn before the statue of

[9] Paus. lib. v. c. 24.

Jupiter Horcius, to give a true and impartial judgment upon the matters left to their examination, without taking any reward; and not to discover the reasons which disposed them to reject some and admit others.

SECTION XV.

OF THE CANDIDATES FOR THE OLYMPIC CROWN.

From what has been said in the preceding sections of the nature of the several exercises, of which the Olympic Games consisted, it is natural to conclude that every one, who fancied himself qualified for obtaining an Olympic victory, was admitted to contend for it. But if it be considered that the Olympic Games were part of a religious festival, instituted in honour of the king and father of all the Pagan deities, and solemnized with the utmost splendour and magnificence, by pompous deputations from every state of Greece; that the assembly, from the great concourse of people of all orders and conditions, who upon these occasions usually resorted to Olympia, either from devotion or curiosity, or other motives, must have been very numerous and august: and, lastly, that a victory in the Olympic Games was attended with many considerable honours and immunities: whoever, I say, will take these several points into consideration, will not be surprised to find all those, who offered themselves as candidates for the Olympic crown, before they were admitted to contend for it, subjected to such conditions, as were necessary to maintain that

order and decorum, which became so sacred and solemn an institution: and required to pass through such an examination, as might tend to exclude all, who should in any degree appear unworthy of the honour of contending for the Olympic olive.

What these were I shall now proceed to show.

Some time before the celebration of the Games, the candidates were obliged to give in their names to one of the Hellanodics, and to specify at the same time the several exercises in which they purposed to contend. I say some time, because it is not certain how long before the Games they were obliged to do this; nor whether they were required to do it in person, or whether a notification of such an intention by a messenger, or by letter only, was deemed sufficient.

The candidates, indeed, for the equestrian crown, were exempted from personal attendance, even in the day of trial; and consequently had the privilege of entering their names by proxy.

Mons. Burette [1] pretends, that this privilege was equally allowed to the other candidates; for which, however, he produces no authority. And indeed, I cannot see of what service it could have been to them, considering the obligation they were under of repairing to Elis, by a certain day, under the penalty of being excluded from contending for the crown: an evidence of which Pausanias [2] hath given us in the instance of Apollonius Rhantis. Apollonius, who was of Alexandria, was not only fined by the Hellanodics for contumacy, in not appearing on the day appointed; but not permitted

[1] 2 Mem. sur les Athletes. [2] Lib. v. c. 21.

to engage in the combat, notwithstanding he pretended to have been detained in the Cyclades by contrary winds. Heraclides, his countryman and antagonist, took care to prove the falsehood of that plea; and showed that the true reason of Apollonius's coming so late, was his staying to pick up the lucrative prizes in the several Games of Ionia. Apollonius upon this, and some other candidates who were in the same circumstance, were excluded the combat; and Heraclides, without a battle, obtained the crown: at which Apollonius was so exasperated, that, armed as he happened to be with the cæstus for the engagement, he ran upon Heraclides, who was receiving the crown, and pursued him even to the seat of the Hellanodics; which childish fury, says Pausanias, had like to have cost him dear.

By this story it is evident there was a time prefixed for the appearance of the candidates; but we are left again to conjecture how much that time preceded the celebration of the Games, though I think there are some very good marks to direct us in that inquiry.

I have already observed, that though the Games themselves lasted but five days, the preparation for the Games took up thirty. These thirty days were employed in exercising the candidates, as Tzetzes and Philostratus [3] inform us; from whence it may be inferred, that they were required to resort to Elis at least thirty days before the celebration of the Games.

The custom of putting the candidates into a

[3] In Lycoph. in Vit. Apoll. lib. v.

course of exercise for thirty days before the Games, furnishes us with a very good reason for the rigid proceeding of the Hellanodics with regard to Apollonius. It was for the dignity of the Olympic Games that none should be admitted to contend in them without being duly prepared [4]. The preparation was accordingly very severe, and the exercises enjoined the candidates upon that occasion, were more laborious and intense than upon any other. They were attacked in every part of their science, and put upon trying to the utmost their patience and fortitude, in supporting hunger and thirst, and heat and cold, and toil, continued sometimes, without intermission, for a whole day together. This trial the candidates were obliged to undergo, that they might be thoroughly acquainted with their own strength before they entered the *stadium;* and not, by rashly engaging in an attempt to which they were by no means equal, run the hazard of disgracing a spectacle which all Greece was assembled to behold: and of villifying, by an unworthy competition, that crown, for which the most eminent, and most deserving, were always candidates.

We may conclude, however, by Apollonius's pleading against the sentence of the Hellanodics, that they had a power of dispensing with the non-observance of this law, in cases where the offence was involuntary, and proceeded from accidents, which were either unforeseen or unavoidable; such as sickness, contrary winds, and many other: but then such accident must have been fully proved, without fraud or equivocation; which indeed it was

[4] Fab. Agon. Lib. i. c. 32, &c. Lib. ix. c. 10, 11, 16.

not very easy for a candidate to make use of without being detected, either by his antagonist, or by some one in an assembly, that was composed of inhabitants of every city, nay, even of every village throughout Greece.

The place where the preparatory exercises were performed, was the old gymnasium in Elis [5]; where the Hellanodics attended every day, as well to distribute the proper exercises to the several classes of candidates, as to see that they were duly performed: though it is to be supposed, that in the performance of them the candidates were governed entirely by the several masters of the gymnasium, whose office it was to prescribe the manner, and regulate the proportion of each exercise.

Near this gymnasium was the forum of the Eleans, in which, says Pausanias [6], they were wont to break and exercise their horses, and from thence was the forum named hippodromos, or the horse-course. But I am afraid it cannot be concluded from this passage, that the horses, which were entered to run for the several equestrian crowns, were, like the gymnastic candidates, obliged to go through a preparatory course of exercise. That they were indeed kept in constant exercise, there is little room to doubt; but whether that was done in compliance with any law or custom of the Olympic Games, or at the discretion of their masters, is, I think, not at all evident.

There is the same uncertainty relating to the time, in which the competitors for the equestrian crown were required to enter their names, and

[5] Paus. lib. vi. c. 23. [6] Lib. vi. c. 24.

send their chariots and their horses to Olympia. But it is not unlikely, that in all things, excepting personal attendance, they were subject to the same regulations with the other candidates, as they undoubtedly were in some instances that I shall mention presently. If this be so, all the above stated difficulties will be removed; and it will be clear that the equestrian candidates were required to enter their names, and send their chariots and their horses to Elis, at least thirty days before the celebration of the Games; and that the charioteers and riders, who were in these cases allowed to be proxies for their masters, were subject to the customary preparation, and consequently went through a proper course of exercise during the said thirty days.

The probability of this argument will appear yet stronger, when we come to consider the oath taken by the gymnastic candidates, before they were finally admitted; and from which there is no reason to think that the equestrian candidates were exempted. The former in this swear, that they had exactly performed every thing required of them by way of exercise, for ten months together. In these ten months were included, as I suppose, the thirty days or month spent in exercising themselves in Elis: for the other nine they were probably left at liberty to practise, each in the *gymnasium* of his own town or country. That only thirty days of this ten months preparation were spent in Elis, is, I think, evident from the following words of Philostratus[7]: Ἤλειοι τὲς ἀθλητὰς ἐπειδὰν ἥκῃ

7 Vit. Ap. lib. v.

Ὀλύμπια γυμνάζεσιν ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἠλιδι; that is, 'The Eleans, upon the approach of the Olympic Games, exercise the *athletes* for thirty days together in the town of Elis itself.'

The same author tells us, that this long and severe probation, which the candidates were obliged to undergo, first at home, and afterwards at Elis, was usually concluded with an exhortation, addressed to them by the Hellanodics, before their departure for Olympia. 'If ye have exercised yourselves in a manner suitable to the dignity of the Olympic Games, and are conscious of having done no action that betrays a slothful, cowardly, and illiberal disposition, proceed boldly. If not; depart, all ye that are so minded.'

But notwithstanding this permission to depart, there is an instance of a *pancratiast*, one Serapion, of Alexandria, who in the 201st Olympiad was punished for running away the day before the battle was to have come on; he was afraid, it seems, of his antagonists, and fled: for which piece of cowardice, he was fined by the Hellanodics; who, to perpetuate the memory both of the punishment and the crime, out of that fine erected a statue to Jupiter. There is no other instance (says Pausanias) of the like offence; but this alone is sufficient to demonstrate, that it was reckoned a kind of desertion in a candidate, to retire before a combat in which he had listed himself to engage.

But this flight of Serapion must be supposed to have happened after his arrival at Olympia; where, at the opening of the Games, a herald publicly proclaimed the names of all the candidates, as they were entered in a register, kept by the Hellanodics

for that purpose; together with the exact number of competitors in each kind of exercise. For a candidate to decline the combat, after having declared himself a competitor, and in so public a manner, as it were, defied his antagonists, was certainly a kind of desertion worthy of disgrace and punishment.

After (and, as I imagine, immediately after) the herald had thus called over the candidates, who doubtless appeared and answered to their names, they were obliged to undergo an examination of another kind, consisting of the following interrogatories: '1. Were they freemen? 2. Were they Grecians? 3. Were their characters clear from all infamous and immoral stains?'

That the candidates for the Olympic crown were to be freemen, is sufficiently evident from a passage in Dionysius of Halicarnassus [8]; who, as a rhetorician, laying down rules for haranguing them before they entered into the *stadium*, among other topics, which he there recommends as proper on that occasion to be insisted upon, advises the orator to remind them of their being free: a consideration (says he) that ought to preserve those who value themselves upon that title from incurring, by the commission of any base or unworthy action, the punishments due only to slaves. By punishments, in this place, is meant (besides fines, exclusion from the Games, &c.) the bodily correction that was inflicted by order of the Hellanodics [9] upon those who were guilty of an irregularity, of any fraudulent or corrupt practices; which, as they

[8] In Protreptico Athlet.

[9] See Fab. Agon. lib. i. c. 19.

are the genuine product of mean and servile minds, ought therefore to be repressed by servile punishments.

The story of Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedon, as it is related by Herodotus [10], may serve to show that none but Grecians were admitted to contend in the Olympic Games.

Alexander, being ambitious of obtaining the Olympic crown, entered himself a candidate among those who aimed at winning that honour in the foot-race: but was objected to by his antagonists as being a Macedonian, and told, that barbarians were not admitted to contend in those Games. Alexander thought fit to clear himself of this objection; and showed, that although he was prince of Macedon, he was descended of a family that came originally from Argos. The Hellanodics allowed of his pretensions, and received him as a competitor for the Olympic crown, which nevertheless he did not obtain.

Upon this point of the extraction of the candidates, the Eleans were so scrupulous as to admit none who could not declare his father and his mother, and show that there was no bastardy or adultery in his lineage. For this piece of intelligence we are indebted to Themistius [11], who instances in the case of one Philammon; upon whose extraction some doubts arising, he was not suffered to engage, till one Aristotle vouched for him, and adopted him for his son.

Hence, in all probability, was derived that law

[10] Lib. v.

[11] See Faber's Agon. lib. iii. c. 17. Themist. Orat. p. 249. Edit. Hardouin.

by which the candidates were required to enter, together with their own names, those of their fathers and their countries; though, with regard to the latter, they were sometimes permitted to adopt a country, and style themselves of kingdoms or cities different from those where they were born; as may be proved by many instances, particularly in Pausanias and Pindar [12]. Are we to conclude, from what is said above of Aristotle's adopting Philammon for his son, that an adopted father also would sometimes serve the turn instead of a natural father, and pass muster in like manner with the Hellanodics?

We find the first and last of the three abovementioned articles inserted in the proclamation made by the herald, when the candidates passed in review along the stadium, which was performed in the following manner:

A herald [13], after having proclaimed silence, laid his hand upon the head of the candidate, and leading him in that manner along the stadium, demanded, with a loud voice, of all the assembly, 'Is there any one, who can accuse this man of any crime? Is he a robber or a slave? Or wicked and depraved, in his life and morals?' And, probably, it was in answer to such a challenge as this, and upon a like occasion, that Themistocles stood up, and objected to Hiero, king of Syracuse, as a tyrant. For Plutarch [14] (after Theophrastus) relates, that Hiero having sent his horses to Olym-

[12] Lib. vi. passim. et Pind. Olymp. Ode 9.

[13] St. Chrysost. apud Fab. Agon. lib. iii. c. 12.

[14] In Themist.

pia, in order to contend for the equestrian crown, and having prepared for their reception a magnificent pavilion, Themistocles stood up, and in a speech told the Grecians, that they ought to pull down the tyrant's pavilion, and not suffer his horses to contend. As there is no particular crime laid to the charge of Hiero, and no objection raised against him as a foreigner or barbarian, the whole of the accusation brought against this monarch by Themistocles, seems to consist in the word τυράννος (tyrant), which, among the Grecians, signified a man, that either usurped, or possessed by means of the usurpation of his predecessors, a monarchical or sovereign authority, in prejudice to the liberties of the people, though he afterwards exercised that authority with justice and virtue. This was the case of Pisistratus, of Gelo, and his brother Hiero, according to Plutarch [15]; the last of whom, as we see, could not, however, escape the censure of Themistocles. The genius of the Greeks was turned entirely to democracies; wherefore it is no wonder, that in a Grecian assembly the name of tyrant should be heard with indignation; or that Themistocles should think a man, who had enslaved his country, criminal enough to be excluded those Games, in which liberty was so much countenanced, that no slave was admitted to contend in them. It looks, indeed, as if by slaves in this case no other could be meant than menial slaves, such as were bought and sold, the property of their masters, and the scorn of human kind: to degrade a tyrant to a level with such as these, and to deny him the privileges of a

15 De his qui.

freeman, was a piece of retaliation worthy the justice of an Hellanodic, and the spirit of Themistocles the deliverer of Greece. It appears, however, that, notwithstanding this popular objection to his character, Hiero was admitted to contend in the Olympic Games; in which he obtained two victories, one in the horse-races in the 73d Olympiad, upon which occasion Pindar wrote his first Olympic Ode [16], and the other in the chariot-races, in the 78th; soon after which he died. In the 75th Olympiad happened the expedition of Xerxes; from which terrible attack upon her liberties, Greece was rescued chiefly by the wisdom and valour of Themistocles [17]. In the 76th Olympiad, the next after the battles of Artemisium and Salamis, Themistocles going to the Olympic Games, drew for a whole day together, says Plutarch, the attention of the spectators from the combatants upon himself; was gazed at by all the Greeks with veneration, and by them pointed out to strangers with loud expressions of their wonder and applause: insomuch that Themistocles himself acknowledged, he that day reaped the fruits of all the labours he had undergone for Greece. It was then, perhaps, that this assertor of the liberties of Greece [18], whose heart was not a little subject to vanity, the last infirmity of noble minds, (to use an expression of Milton) proud of his victories over one tyrant, thought fit to declare himself an enemy to all, by this opposition to Hiero; under which if Hiero did not sink, it was owing, in all likelihood, to the services that he

[16] See schol. ad prim. Olymp. Od.

[17] Plut. in Themistocle. [18] Ibid.

and his family[19] had lately done to Greece, in defeating the Carthaginians, who were leagued with Xerxes in the same cause: an action that Pindar seems to think not inferior to the victories of Salamis and Platea: if so, might there not have been a little tincture of envy and jealousy, as well as vanity, in this zeal of Themistocles against tyrants?

The candidates, having passed with honour through this public inquiry into their lives and characters, were led to the altar of Jupiter, surnamed Horcius[20], from his presiding over oaths. The statue of Jupiter Horcius was placed in the senate house of the Eleans, and was formed to strike terror into wicked men, says Pausanias, more than any other statues of that deity; for in this he was represented as armed with thunder in both hands, and, as if that was not a sufficient intimation of the wrath of Jupiter against those who should forswear themselves, at his feet there was a plate of brass, containing terrible denunciations against the perjured. Before this statue were all the candidates, together with their parents, their brethren, and the masters of the gymnasium, sworn upon the limbs of a boar, that was slain and cut up

19 See the first Pythian Ode of Pindar.

20 Paus. lib. v. c. 24. Horcius, derived from *horcos*, an oath. The Romans seem to have translated the Greek word Horcius by fidius, to which joining the old word *Dius*, signifying Jupiter, and the particle *me*, borrowed from the Greek *μα*, and used by them in other words, as *mehercle*, *mecastor*, they formed the word medius fidius; about which, it seems, there have been great disputes among the learned. Though I cannot help thinking, they may all be ended by allowing *medius fidius* to be no other than a translation of Δία ὅρκιο, as I have here suggested: but this conjecture I submit to better judgments.

for that purpose, that they would not be guilty of any fraud or indirect action, tending to a breach of the laws relating to the Olympic Games. The candidates moreover swore, that they had for ten months together duly performed all that was required of them, by way of preparing themselves to appear worthy of being admitted to contend for the Olympic crown.

I cannot help taking notice, with regard to this oath, that it appears to have been very religiously observed: since, as the Eleans informed Pausanias [21], the first instance of any indirect practices made use of by any of the candidates for obtaining the Olympic crown, was in the 98th Olympiad, almost four hundred years after the restitution of those Games by Iphitus; from which time to the 226th Olympiad, above five hundred years more, only five instances of the like iniquity are produced by the same author. The leader of this opprobrious band is one Eupolus, a Thessalian, who bribed at one time no less than three of his antagonists, to yield him the victory in the *cæstus*. The fraud and collusion was discovered, and the corrupter and corrupted punished equally by fines; with the money arising out of which were erected six statues of Jupiter: upon one of these was an inscription in verse, declaring that the Olympic crown was to be obtained by activity and strength, and not by bribery and corruption. Upon another it was set forth, that this statue was erected by the piety of the Eleans, to the honour of that deity, and to deter all men for the future from transgressing the

[21] Lib. v. c. 21.

laws of the Olympic Games. All the other offenders, whose crime was of the same nature, were punished in the same manner; and their infamy was in the same manner perpetuated by statues and inscriptions. The apprehensions of a like dishonour, and the dread, perhaps, of a divinity, who was represented as arming himself with double terrors for the punishment of the perjured, was undoubtedly the reason that this oath was so long and so generally kept by all who took it.

From the altar of Jupiter Horcius the candidates were conducted to the stadium by their parents, their countrymen, and the masters of the *gymnasium*[22]; some of whom failed not to encourage them to the combat in an exhortatory speech; for the composing of which Dionysius of Halicarnassus has laid down several precepts, as has been already mentioned.

In the stadium they were left entirely to themselves, to stand or fall by their own merit; excepting that the hopes, and fears, and transports of their relations and friends, who could not help sympathizing with them in the several turns and accidents of the combat, were allowed to break out now and then into expressions either of exhortation or applause. And whoever lost the crown, had at least the consolation of having been thought worthy to contend for it. And indeed, considering the long and painful discipline they were obliged to undergo, and the qualifications required of them previously to their being received as candidates for the Olympic olive, we may very justly apply to

[22] Faber's Agon.

them what Achelous in Ovid says, to palliate the disgrace of his having been vanquished by Hercules:

Non tam
Turpe fuit vinci quàm contendisse decorum.

'The honour of having contended for the victory, abundantly outweighed the disgrace of losing it.'

In speaking of those, who were admitted to contend in the Olympic Games, I must not forget to mention, that boys were allowed to be of that number. This, it seems, was an innovation [23], there being no precedent for any such custom in the old Games before Iphitus; and was introduced by the mere authority of the Eleans, in the 37th Olympiad. Running and wrestling were at first the only two exercises in which boys were suffered to dispute the prize with each other; but in the forty-first Olympiad they were admitted to the combat of the cæstus, and in the hundred and forty-fifth to that of the pancratium; as they had been likewise to those of the pentathlon, in the 38th Olympiad, in which exercise, Eutelidas the Spartan obtained the crown. But the Eleans came to a resolution that very Olympiad, not to allow boys for the future to contend in the *pentathlon;* which probably was looked upon as too robust and too laborious for so tender an age. Paus. lib. v. c. 9. In the gymnastic exercises the boys, as was most reasonable, contended with each other in classes, distinct and separate from the men.

That they contended also in the horse-races, is evident from what Pausanias [24] says of Æsypus, the

[23] Paus. lib. v. c. 8. [24] Lib. vi. c. 2.

son of Timon, of whom there was an equestrian statue at Olympia, in memory of his having, while yet a boy, obtained a victory in the race of riding-horses.

I have already observed, that the competitors for the equestrian crowns were allowed to contend by proxy; to which I must add, that it was customary likewise for a man to hire or borrow a chariot and horses for that occasion; or, which amounted to the same thing, to prevail with a friend, who perhaps had more chariots or more horses than one to run at the same time, to enter his name as master of one of them; or to resign, perhaps, the honour of a victory in his favour, as was twice done by Cimon, the father of Miltiades, according to Herodotus [25]. Under the favour, therefore, of some or other of these indulgences, which were peculiar to the equestrian exercises, a way was opened for boys also to obtain the equestrian crowns; even supposing they were not of age or strength sufficient to contend for them in person; or wealthy or independent enough to have a chariot or horses of their own.

I have mentioned age, which undoubtedly was a qualification necessary to be considered in these young candidates for glory; especially upon their admission to contend in any of the gymnastic combats. But I must acknowledge at the same time, that I have not as yet been able to discover, what age was requisite for their reception into the class of boys, nor at what age they were esteemed men, and consequently excluded from contending in that

[25] Erato, c. 103.

class. We read, indeed, in Pausanias[26], of one Damiscus, who obtained a victory in the foot-race at twelve years of age: and the French translator[27] of that author says, that boys were admitted from the age of twelve or thirteen years to that of seventeen years, to contend in the gymnastic combat: that under twelve years of age they were reckoned too young, and above seventeen too old; and consequently after that time they were ranked in the class of men. With the latter part of this opinion Faber seems also to agree; seventeen years being, as he says, the age at which they were reckoned able to bear arms.

This opinion is indeed highly probable; but as it is not supported by any authority out of ancient authors, I shall leave it upon the credit of those from whom I borrowed it; and observe, that children of the same age differ so greatly from each other, both in strength and size, that the Hellanodics seem, for that very reason, to have been left entirely at liberty to admit or to reject such as should, upon examination, appear to be either an under-match or an over-match for the rest of their antagonists. That this was the case may be inferred, as well from a passage of Plutarch, in the life of Agesilaus, which I shall produce presently, as from the oath taken before the statue of Jupiter Horcius, by such of the Hellanodics as were appointed to examine the boys who offered themselves as candidates for the Olympic olive[28]; the tenor of which oath was, 'That they had, without

[26] Eliac. lib. ii. c. 2.

[27] See his note, Paus. Eliac. lib. ii. c. 1.

[28] Paus. lib. v. c. 24.

either present or reward, proceeded in that examination, and determined according to the strictest equity; and that they promised further, never to divulge the motives that had induced them to admit some and reject others.' From this oath, and particularly from the second clause of it, as well as from the practice of swearing the Hellanodics upon this occasion, it is evident they were to judge discretionally, and according to their consciences, not of the age only of those young candidates, which was a matter of fact easily and certainly to be known, by inquiring either of themselves or of their friends and relations, and countrymen, some of whom always accompanied them to Olympia, but of those other matters already mentioned, for which no certain rule or measure could be prescribed; and which, for that reason, must be submitted to the cognizance and determination of discretion and opinion only. These several particulars are further proved from the passage of Plutarch above-mentioned, wherein he relates, that the son of Pharnabazus, a Persian satrap, having contracted a friendship with Agesilaus, king of Sparta, applied to him one day in behalf of an Athenian boy [29], of whom he was very fond, and who having qualified himself for the *stadium*, or simple footrace, intended to offer himself as a candidate for the Olympic crown in the class of boys; but as he was very robust and tall, there was great danger of his being rejected upon that account. But Agesi-

29 ——ἠράσθη ἀθλητὴς παιδὸς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὢν καὶ σκληρὸς ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐκινδύνευσεν ἐκκριθῆναι, &c. See also the 4th Book of Xenophon's Greek History, where this story is related. And from thence, I suppose, Plutarch took it.

lans, willing to gratify the young Persian in this particular, made use of all his interest with the Hellanodics; and, after a great deal of difficulty, obtained his desire.

I cannot finish this account of the candidates without taking proper notice of the ladies, who were not ashamed to be reckoned in that number. It was a great while, indeed, before they thought of rivaling the men in their pretensions to a crown, for which, by a kind of Salic law, their sex seemed to be entirely excluded; for they were not so much as allowed to be spectators of these contests for glory: and no less a punishment [30] than that of being cast headlong down the precipices of Mount Typæus, was threatened to be inflicted upon every woman that was discovered assisting at the Olympic Games, or even known to have passed over the river Alpheus during that solemnity. Pausanias, who helps us to this particular, informs us at the same time, that no woman was ever taken offending against this law, excepting one named Callipateira [31], or Pherenice, whose husband being dead, she disguised herself in the habit of a master of the gymnasium, in order to attend upon her son Pisidorus, whom under that character she conducted into the Olympic stadium. But Pisidorus coming off with conquest, the mother, who could not con-

30 Paus. lib. v. c. 6.

31 This matron was so famous as to have had several names: see Kuhnius's note upon this passage of Paus. and the Scholium upon the title of the 7th Olymp. Ode of Pindar, where she is called Aristopateira, and the story of her differently told. She was the daughter of Diagoras, the famous athlete, to whom that Ode is inscribed.

tain her transport at the victory of her son, was by some accident discovered, and thereby rendered liable to the dreadful penalty above mentioned. The Hellanodics, however, out of respect to her father, her brothers, and her son, all of whom had been honoured with the Olympic crown, exempted her from punishment; but ordered, that all the masters of the *gymnasium*, who assisted at those Games, should, for the future, appear naked; as were all the gymnastic candidates; which was without doubt the true reason of this law's being at first made, as well as one of the principal causes of its having been ever religiously observed. And yet we find in the same Pausanias [32], that the priestess of Ceres, and even virgins, (those undoubtedly belonging to that goddess, and those only) were allowed to be spectators of these Games; and were seated for that purpose upon an altar of white marble, that was erected on one side of the *stadium*, opposite to the seat of the Hellanodics. I must own, with Mons. Rollin [33], that I cannot account for so extraordinary a proceeding; but I can by no means, like him, call the truth of this fact in question; which is related in very express terms by Pausanias, and with circumstances that corroborate his evidence: and is further confirmed by the testimony of Suetonius, in the life of Nero [34]; who says, that emperor invited the vestal virgins to see the combats of the athletes, because at Olympia the like privilege was allowed to the priestesses of Ceres. All we can say of this matter is, that it

[32] Eliac. ii. c. 20. Fab. Agon. lib. i. c. 9.
[33] Hist. Anc. vol. v. p. 51. [34] In Nero. c. xii.

appears [35] to have been an honour granted, among many others, to the priestesses of this goddess in particular; whose temple [36] was adjoining to the *stadium* [37], and from some circumstances of whose worship [38], which was very full of symbols, and mysteries, and secrets, that no one was permitted to divulge, this custom was in all probability derived: so much at least seems to be intimated by the altar of white marble, upon which these priestesses and virgins were seated, of whose sanctity and purity it seems at the same time to have been no improper emblem.

To recompense the women for their being excluded from the Olympic Games [39], they also celebrated a festival of their own, instituted, as it is said, in honour of Olympian Juno, by Hippodamia, the wife of Pelops. In this festival the virgins, distributed into three classes, according to their different ages, contended in the foot-race: from which agreeable spectacle, I am willing to hope, for the sake of both sexes, that the men were not excluded; neither could the same reason be pretended in the present case, as in the former. These female racers were dressed, and (if one may be allowed to give one's opinion upon a matter every

35 Paus. ubi. sup. 36 Paus. lib. 5. c. 21.

37 May not another reason for this extraordinary privilege granted to the priestess of Ceres be drawn from the situation of her temple, which overlooked the *stadium*; and from which, perhaps, it was not lawful for the priestess to depart? and may we not suppose that this privilege, though granted out of a religious veneration to the goddess, was never made use of by the priestess, or the virgins belonging to her?

38 See Spanheim and the other commentators on Callim. Hymn to Ceres. 39 Paus. lib. v. c. 15.

way so remote from these modern times, they were dressed in a very becoming habit; for their hair, according to Pausanias, was loose and flowing, their mantle let down a little below the knee, and their right-shoulder naked as low as to the breast. The races were performed in the Olympic *stadium;* but, out of regard to the debility of the tender racers, the course was shortened about a sixth part. The conqueress received for her reward an olive crown, and a certain portion of the heifer that was upon this occasion sacrificed to Juno. But the most agreeable part of their recompense, was the liberty granted to the victorious virgin of having her picture drawn, and hung up in the temple as a memorial, at the same time, both of her beauty and her glory. And I question not but they were as careful to have the painter ready upon these occasions, as the conquerors of the other sex were to have their statuaries and poets.

What pity is it, that instead of a picture of one of these fair conqueresses, nothing should now remain to us but the name of her who obtained the first victory! This was Chloris, the youngest daughter of Amphion, a lady whose beauty is celebrated by Homer[40].

The direction[41] of this festival, and the office of presiding at these Games, was lodged in sixteen matrons, elected for that purpose, two out of each of the eight tribes of the Eleans. These sixteen matrons, who had also a like number of women to assist them in ordering the Games, composed two choirs, one named the chorus of Physcoa, and the

[40] Odyss. A. ver. 280. [41] Paus. lib. v. c. 15.

other of Hippodamia; but whether they employed their voices in singing the praises of the goddess, or of the victorious virgins, or both, is not said; though a less important part of their office is mentioned, namely, the care of weaving a veil, which was spread over the image of Juno upon her festival.

But to return from this short digression: notwithstanding the women, by the institution of these Games consecrated to Juno, seem to have been set upon a pretty equal footing with the men, yet the vanity of the latter, in over-valuing themselves upon their victories, brought the women into their lists. And very fortunate was it for the men, that these dangerous rivals were, by the above-mentioned law, excluded from contending in person; and necessitated of course to limit their ambition to the obtaining the equestrian crowns only; for which alone it was allowable to contend by proxy. The law by which women were forbidden to be present at the Olympic Games, and the liberty granted the equestrian candidates, which I have just now mentioned, have already been so clearly and so fully stated, that I need not enter into the question, whether Cynisca, and the other ladies of Macedonia, who afterwards followed her example, were present at the Olympic Games, any further, than to say that Faber[42] is of opinion, that Cynisca was in person at Olympia, though neither she nor any of the female candidates drove their own chariots; which opinion he grounds upon the words of Plutarch[43], which indeed seem to imply as much.

[42] Agon. lib. i. c. 26.

[43] See Plut. in Agesi. et Lacon. Apoph. et Zeno. in Agesi.

But if the words of Plutarch are to be taken strictly according to the letter, they imply, that Cynisca was not only present at the Olympic Games, but that she drove her own chariot; which is contrary to what Faber himself allows, and to the testimony of her own monument of this victory[44]: which consisted of the statues of her four horses in brass, a little less than the life, her chariot and her charioteer, and her own picture drawn by Apelles. Besides, as her being present was not at all necessary, there was no occasion for the Hellanodics to dispense in her favour with the observation of a law, which in all other cases was to be obeyed under the penalty of death. She had reason to be contented, one would think, with being admitted to contend for a crown; the value of which she had been most maliciously prevailed upon to bring into discredit, by showing from her own example, that the women might as well pretend to that honour as the men. Such at least was the intention of her brother Agesilaus, who persuaded her for that reason to make the experiment. But he seems to have been disappointed in the event. The Olympic crown kept up its value; and instead of being depreciated by the competition of a woman, gave such a lustre to Cynisca, that the several arts of poetry, painting, architecture, and statuary, were all employed by herself or her countrymen, to deliver down to posterity the memory of her glory.

[44] Paus. lib. vi. c. 1. et lib. v. c. 12.

SECTION XVI.

OF THE OLYMPIC CROWN, AND OTHER HONOURS AND REWARDS CONFERRED UPON THE CONQUERORS.

THE first reward bestowed upon the conquerors, and the pledge of many consequent honours, privileges, and immunities, (all which I purpose to treat of in this section) was a chaplet or crown, composed of the branches of a wild olive.

To enhance the value of these olive chaplets, and render them in some degree worthy of those Games, which, by way of eminence, were styled Holy, the Eleans pretended that the tree, from whence they were always taken, was originally brought to Olympia by Hercules [1], from the country of the Hyperboreans; a people, whose situation no geographer, either ancient or modern, has yet been able to determine. Pindar gives the honour of this exploit to Hercules, the son of Alcmena, though, as we learn from Pausanias, it was by others ascribed to the Idæan Hercules, who was earlier by some generations.

But as there were many plants of the same kind growing in the altis of Olympian Jupiter, several of which might equally pretend to the same venerable original, to obviate all doubts and scruples relating to the sacred olive, that might arise either from the above consideration, or from the long in-

[1] Pindar's Olymp. Ode 3. See the note there.

terval which had passed between the time in which these heroes flourished, and that in which Iphitus re-instituted the Olympic Games; the Eleans further pretended, that it was indicated to them by the Delphic oracle. This account, though not taken notice of by Pausanias, or any other author, as I remember, is preserved to us in a fragment of Phlegon, and is as follows: 'During the first five Olympiads [after the restitution of those Games by Iphitus] no one,' says he, 'was crowned; but in the sixth, the people of Elis came to a resolution to consult the oracle about giving crowns to the conquerors. For this purpose they sent Iphitus, their king, to Delphi, to whom the god gave this answer:

> To the swift victor be no more assign'd
> The bleating offspring of the fleecy kind;
> But from the olive, which spontaneous grows
> In Pisa's vale, a verdant crown compose;
> That olive, round whose venerable head
> Her subtle textures hath Arachne spread.

Iphitus, upon his return to Olympia, having discovered, among the many wild olives that grew in the sacred grove, one which was covered with cobwebs, enclosed it with a wall; and from this tree was a chaplet or crown taken and given to the conquerors. The first who was crowned was Daicles, of Messene, who, in the seventh Olympiad, gained the victory in the stadium, or simple 'foot-race.'

From this account we also learn, that the prize originally bestowed upon the Olympic conquerors

was a lamb. And some learned moderns have imagined, that in some periods of these Games, the crowns given to the victors were of gold. But, as I think they have mistaken the passages upon which they found their opinion, I shall pass it over with this observation only; that, considering the number of exercises, of which in process of time the Olympic Games consisted, in each of which the victor was entitled to a prize, the honour of presiding at the Olympic Games must have been very expensive to the Eleans in that article alone, had these prizes been of any considerable value. And it is probable that the Eleans, foreseeing this, might, out of good economy, be desirous of changing the original prize, a lamb, though of no great value, for the cheaper one of a crown, composed of the branches of a wild olive: to sanctify which alteration, and give a lustre to their olive chaplet, they had recourse to fables, and the authority of the Delphic oracle.

With the same view they not only surrounded this sacred olive with a wall, and distinguished it by the name of *Callistephanos*, i. e. the tree of the crowns of glory; but put it also under the protection of certain nymphs [2], or inferior deities; whom from their office they likewise surnamed *Callistephani;* and to whom they erected an altar near that consecrated plant.

To excite the emulation of the competitors, by placing in their view the object of their ambition, these crowns were laid upon a tripod or table,

[2] Pans. lib. v.

which, during the Games, was brought out and placed in the middle of the *stadium*, or of the *hippodrome* [3], according as the respective exercises required. In the interval of the Games [4] they were kept, the former in the temple of Jupiter, the latter in the temple of Juno, at Olympia. The tripod was of brass, and seems to have been entirely laid aside after the table was made, which was composed of gold and ivory, the workmanship of Colotes of Paros, a disciple of Pasiteles.

Upon the same table were also exposed to view, branches of palm, which the conquerors received at the same time with the crowns, and carried in their hands, as emblems [5] (says Plutarch) of the unsuppressive vigour of their minds and bodies, evidenced in their getting the better of their antagonists; and surmounting all opposition, like those plants, whose property it was, according to the opinion of the ancients, to rise and flourish under the greatest weights, and against all endeavours to bend or keep them down.

Though the conquerors were immediately upon their gaining the victory entitled to the chaplet and the palm, yet Faber [6] conjectures, from a passage of Chrysostome, that they who contended in the morning exercises, did not receive their crowns

[3] It is probable, that in the basso relievo representing the old *hippodrome* at Constantinople (a print of which is inserted in Wheeler's Travels, p. 183,) the four pillars supporting a kind of frame, were only the legs of a table serving the use above mentioned. Which Mr. Wheeler not considering, says, he could not conjecture what it was for, unless only for ornament.

[4] Pans. lib. v. [5] Symp. lib. viii. Quæst. 4.

[6] Agon. lib. i. c. 30.

till noon; at which time it may also be inferred from the same passage, that the spectators, as wel as the candidates, were dismissed, in order to take some refreshment before the afternoon exercises came on; the conquerors in which were in like manner obliged to wait for their reward till the evening. And indeed, as every part of these Games was conducted with the utmost order and decency, it is not natural to suppose that the course of the exercises was interrupted, by giving the crown to every single conqueror as soon as he had obtained his victory, especially as that solemnity was attended with a great deal of ceremony.

It was performed (as far as I have been able to collect from several passages scattered up and down in ancient authors) in the following manner: The conquerors, being summoned by proclamation, marched in order to the tribunal of the Hellanodics [7], where a herald, taking the crowns of olive from the table [8], placed one upon the head of each of the conquerors; and giving into their hands branches of palm, led them in that equipage along the *stadium*, preceded by trumpets, proclaiming at the same time with a loud voice their names, the names of their fathers, and their countries; and specifying the particular exercise in which each of them had gained the victory. The form made use of in that proclamation seems to have been conceived in these or such-like terms; viz. 'Diagoras, the son of Damagetus, of Rhodes, conqueror in the *cæstus* in the class of men;' and so of the rest,

7 Ælian. lib. ix. c. 51.

8 Cic. Epist. ad Luc. Plut. de se ipso laud.

whether men or boys, *mutatis mutandis.* That in which the victories of Nero were published, is recorded by Dio Cassius [9], for the singularity, I suppose, of the style, as well as the eminency of the conqueror, and the quality of the herald, whose name (as the same author informs us) was Cluvius Rufus, a man of consular dignity. Take it, together with the short but sarcastical reflection of the historian upon it, in the very words, as near as I could translate them into English [10]: 'Nero Cæsar is victorious in this Game, and imparts the honour of this chaplet to the Roman people, and to all the inhabitants of the world, his subjects.' He styled himself (says Dio Cassius) Lord of the World, and yet turned harper, crier, and tragedian. To illustrate this wonderful piece of history, I shall observe, that this vain but mean lord of the universe, besides his victory in the chariot-race at Olympia (which I have already mentioned) obtained many others in the several Games of Greece [11], (in all which he contended) as a musician, a crier, and a tragedian; to which he sometimes added the further indecency of proclaiming, in the quality of a crier, his own victories [12]: and to fit himself for this honourable employment, he every where contended publicly with the criers or heralds, who, without doubt, were very careful not to outbawl the master of twenty legions.

Although the Olympic crowns were all composed of the branches of the sacred olive, yet, I

[9] In Nerone.

[10] Νέρων Καῖσαρ νικᾶ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα, καὶ στεφανοῖ τόνδε τῶν Ρωμαίων δᾶμον καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκουμένην.

[11] Dion in Nerone. [12] Suet. in Nero.

imagine, they were distinguished from each other, either by the difference of their form, or the addition of some emblematic ornament peculiar to the several exercises. The racer's crown was different from the wrestler's, and so all the rest. This I acknowledge to be a mere conjecture of my own; founded indeed upon no positive authority of any writer, either ancient or modern; but countenanced, as I think, by a passage of Plutarch [13], where, speaking of the different talents and fortunes of mankind, he advises us to be contented with our own, and not envy those of other men; like the racers, continues he, who are not dissatisfied at not obtaining the wrestlers' crowns, but triumph, and are happy in their own. These words, I confess, will bear a more general sense, and may mean no more than that the racers do not envy the wrestlers their victory. And yet I am persuaded, that, had there been no mark, by which these crowns were distinguished from each other, he would have expressed himself otherwise. For to say, in general, that the racers did not envy the wrestlers the Olympic crown, would not be strictly true, any more than to say here in England, that an admiral does not envy a general the garter, or a peerage, because those honours are indifferently bestowed upon both; and may, therefore, be the object of the ambition of either. But among the Romans it might, with great propriety and truth, be said, that a man, who had distinguished himself in a sea engagement, and obtained a crown as a reward for his valour, did not envy

[13] De Tranq. Animi.

his fellow-citizen the crown which he had gained at a siege; because those crowns were known to be different, and appropriated to distinct services. However, I shall submit this, with many other things of the like uncertain nature, to the more judicious reader. As to the emblematic ornaments, which I mentioned above, I can produce but little better authority in support of this part of my conjecture, than of the former. Plutarch, in his discourse upon the face in the moon, speaking of the souls, which, after the first death here upon earth, and the purgatory which they undergo for some time in the regions between the earth and that planet, are translated to the moon, says, that as a mark of their constancy, they, like the conquerors, wear chaplets of (πτερῶν) plumes or wings: and Pindar, in his 14th Olymp. Ode, to denote the victory of Asopichus in the foot-race, says, he crowned his head with the wings (πτεροῖσι) or plumes of the famous Games. The same word, and used in the same sense, occurs again in the 9th Pythian Ode. The scholiast, and all the interpreters agree, that by these words, Pindar means the Olympic and Pythic crowns; which, say they, he calls wings, because they elevate and exalt. But I can by no means approve of this solution, and think the expression too bold to be justified, even in that kind of poetry called Dithyrambic, which, by all we know of it, seems to have been the production of such great wits, as, according to Dryden, are near allied to madness. Would an English poet be allowed to say, that a man received the order of the wing, to signify that he was made knight of the garter? And yet it might

be justified in him as well as in Pindar, by the same kind of reasoning. For my part, I cannot help concluding, from these two passages, compared with that of Plutarch, that either the conquerors in general, (for the words in Plutarch are general) besides the chaplet peculiar to the Games, received another composed of wings or plumes; or, that the racers' chaplet in particular was adorned with plumes or wings, the proper and known emblems of swiftness. In support of which conjecture, I desire it may be observed, that the odes, in which Pindar uses this expression, are both of them inscribed to conquerors in the foot-race. Plutarch, in the passage above cited, speaks of wings as the symbols of constancy. I shall not inquire into the reason or propriety of this symbol, but observe, that a chaplet of wings, considered as the symbols of constancy, belonged equally (and were probably given) to all the conquerors, as the words of Plutarch seem to imply.

That different degrees of merit were rewarded with different degrees of honour, and consequently with different crowns, I infer from these words of St. Basil[14]: 'No president of the Games (says he) is so devoid of judgment, as to think a man, who, for want of an adversary, hath not contended, deserves the same crown (ἴσων ςεφάνων) as one who hath contended and overcome.' That he who, for want of an antagonist, was proclaimed conqueror, did receive a crown, is evident from the epigram upon Milo, (which I have produced at the end of a former section) and many passages in

[14] Apud Fab. Agon. lib. iii. cap. 1.

Pausanias; and that the crown, which in that case he was entitled to, was different from that which he would have received had he contended and vanquished, may, I think, be fairly concluded from the words of St. Basil, above cited. Alcibiades[15], who sent seven chariots at one time to the Olympic Games, gained the first, second, and fourth prizes, which were so many crowns of olive[16]: and these crowns, in all probability, differed from each other, as they were the rewards of different degrees of merit. To this let me add, that the charioteers, and even the horses, were rewarded with crowns, which can hardly be supposed to have been the same with those bestowed upon their masters, though no notice is taken by any ancient author, of any difference or distinction in these several crowns.

Though the olive chaplet seems to have been the only reward which the Hellanodics conferred upon the conquerors, yet were there many others no less glorious and no less pleasing recompenses attending their victories, as well from the spectators in general, as from their own countrymen, friends, and relations in particular; some of which they received even before they were put in possession of the crown. Such were the acclamations and applauses of that numerous assembly; the

15 Plut. in Alcib. Thucyd. Iso. in Bigis.

16 This will appear to any one who shall compare the fragment of the ode which Euripides composed upon this occasion, with what Plutarch, and Thucydides, and Isocrates, and Euripides himself, in the same place, say of the three victories of Alcibiades; by which also it is plain, that instead of δὶς στεφθέντα ἐλαίᾳ, it should be τρίς.

warm congratulations of their friends, and even the faint and extorted salutations of their maligners and opponents. These broke out immediately upon their victory, and were as lenients to their wounds, and cordials to their toils; and enabled them to support with patience the further toil of waiting, perhaps many hours, for the crown; which was no inconsiderable matter after a hard-fought battle, or long-contested victory, especially if they were to stand all that time in the *stadium*, naked and exposed, in that hottest season of the year, to the rays of the sun; and that in a place, where the heat was so violent, that slaves were sometimes, by way of punishment, condemned to suffer it for a whole summer's day together.

As they passed along the *stadium*, after they had received the crown, they were again saluted with the acclamations of the spectators, accompanied with a shower of herbs and flowers, poured on them from every side; as may be collected from what Pausanias relates [17] of Diagoras the Rhodian, to whom Pindar [18] inscribes his seventh Olympic Ode: in which he enumerates his several victories in almost all the Games of Greece. This venerable conqueror is said to have accompanied his two sons, Acusilaus and Damagetus, to the Olympic Games; in which the young men coming off victorious, Acusilaus in the *cæstus*, and Damagetus in the *pancratium*, took their father on their shoulders, and carried him as it were in triumph along the *stadium*, amid the shouts and acclamations of the specta-

[17] Lib. vi.

[18] See the Scholiast on the 4th Pyth. Ode of Pindar, ver. 426.

tors; who poured flowers on him as he passed, and hailed him happy in being the father of such sons [19].

It was further customary, for the friends of the conquerors to express their particular respect to them, by going up to them, accosting them, and presenting them with chaplets of herbs, &c. binding their heads with fillets, ribbons [20], &c.

The last duty performed by the conquerors at Olympia, was sacrificing [21] to the twelve gods, who were worshipped, two at one altar, as I have already observed, and sometimes to Olympic Jupiter in particular. These sacrifices, some of them performed with so much magnificence as to entertain the whole multitude which were gathered together at that solemnity; as did Alcibiades [22], Leophron, and Empedocles [23]. But this last being a Pythagorean, and for that reason abstaining from all animal food, distributed to the assembly an ox, composed of honey, flour, frankincense, myrrh, and other spices of great value.

Others, who had less ability, or perhaps less vanity, were contented to feast only their own friends, or probably were sometimes feasted by them; and perhaps, by the Eleans themselves, the superintendants of the Olympic Games. For so much seems to be intimated by Pausanias, who

[19] There are some additions to this story, which I shall take notice of in another place.

[20] See Thucyd. lib. iv. sub fin. where are these words: ἰδίᾳ δὲ, ἐταινίων τε, καὶ προσήρχοντο ὥσπερ ἀθλητῇ; the story of Lichas quoted in a former section; and the last-mentioned passage of Pindar.

[21] Pind. Olymp. Ode ε. and the Scholiast.

[22] Athen. Deip. lib. i. [23] Ibid. et Laert. in his Life.

says, that in the *prytaneum*, or town-hall of Olympia, there was a banquetting-room set apart for the entertaining the Olympic conquerors. At these entertainments, whether public or private, were frequently sung by a chorus, accompanied with instrumental music, such odes as were composed upon that occasion, in honour of the conqueror. But it was not the good fortune of every conqueror to have a poet for his friend; or to be able to pay the price of an ode, which the poets rated very high, according to the following story related by the scholiast of Pindar[24]. The friends of one Pytheas, a conqueror in the Nemean Games, came to Pindar, and desired him to make an ode upon the occasion; but the poet demanding a large sum[25] of money for his performance, they replied, 'it was better to have a statue of brass erected for that money, than a copy of verses,' and went their ways. But some time after, having changed their opinions, they returned to Pindar, and paid him his price: who, in allusion to the above-mentioned transaction, begins his ode with setting forth, that he was no statuary, no maker of images that could not stir from their pedestals, and consequently were to be seen only by those who would give themselves the trouble to go to the place where they were erected; but he could make a poem, which should fly over the whole earth, and publish in every place that Pytheas had gained the crown in the Nemean Games, &c. Pindar, as was natural, gives the preference

[24] Nem. Ode 5.

[25] See hereafter the Note on the second Isthmian Ode of Pindar.

to his own art, poetry; so did the friends of Pytheas: and Pindar's works are now, after two thousand years, remaining still, to prove that they were neither of them mistaken.

Those conquerors, who could not attain to the honour of an ode on their particular victory, were obliged to take up with one made by Archilochus, in praise of Hercules, which, as we learn from Pindar[26] and his scholiast, it was customary to sing three several times to the conquerors, *viz.* in the *stadium*, as I suppose, at the time of his being proclaimed conqueror; in the *gymnasium*, and in his own country, at the solemnity of his triumphal entry there. Of this ode nothing has come down to us but the two first verses, preserved by the scholiast of Pindar: the three first words of which, *viz.* Ὦ Καλλίνικε, χαῖρε, 'O glorious victor, hail!' seem, by the account which the scholiast gives of this ode, to have been the only ones applicable to the Olympic conquerors, (the rest belonging to Hercules) and were sometimes, perhaps, the only ones made use of; especially when the chorus consisted of none but the friends of the conqueror: which, as many of these conquerors were not rich enough to hire a band of singers and musicians, must have often been the case. To supply the want of a musician, Archilochus framed a word in imitation of the sound of a harp, which word (*Tenella*, Τηνέλλα) when there happened to be no musician present, the leader of the chorus chanted forth, and was answered by the rest of the chorus in the words of the ode, Ὦ Καλλίνικε,

[26] Olymp. Ode 9.

'O glorious victor,' &c. at every comma, or pause, of which this burden was again repeated, as Pindar's scholiast informs us, from whom I have taken this whole account.

To perpetuate the glory of these victories, the Hellanodics entered into a public register the names of the conquerors; specifying, without doubt, the particular exercise and class, whether of men or boys, in which each had been victorious; together with the number of the Olympiad. I have already taken notice, in another place, of the glorious distinction paid to the conquerors in the *stadium*, by marking the Olympiad with their names, and therefore shall say nothing of it here, but shall proceed to the last, though not the least, honour granted by the Hellanodics to the conquerors; and this was the privilege of having their statues set up in the *altis*, or sacred grove of Jupiter at Olympia.

Though the conquerors themselves, their friends, and sometimes their country [27], were at the expense of these statues, yet were they restrained by the Olympic laws from indulging that too common vanity of misrepresenting the size and stature of their bodies [28], and obliged to make their statues no bigger than the life: in examining of which (says Lucian) the Hellanodics were more exact than in examining the candidates themselves. And if they found any in this particular offending against the truth, they punished them very properly with throwing down their statues.

Cornelius Nepos, in his life of Chabrias, says,

[27] Paus. lib. vi. [28] Lucian. Imag.

that in imitation of that general, who had caused his statue to be made in a peculiar attitude, expressing a particular position of the body, by the invention and use of which he and his army had obtained a considerable victory, it became customary with the conquerors in the Games, &c. to represent in their statues the attitudes, habits, &c. in which they had gained the crown.

Thus, for instance, the statue of Damaretus [29], who was the first that obtained the victory in the race of armed men, is described by Pausanias with a shield, a helmet, and buskins, the proper equipage of those who contended in that exercise: and that of Ladas (an eminent racer) made by Myron, as eminent a statuary, was formed in the very action of running; and seems, according to the account given of it in a very beautiful Greek epigram [30], to have expressed not the attitude of the body only, but that of the mind also, (if I may so speak) the hopes, the expectation, the assurance of the victory, in so lively a manner, that it is going this moment, cries the poet, to leap from its pedestal, and seize the crown.

But the conquerors were not contented to consecrate themselves only in this manner to Fame and Jupiter; they sometimes set up the statues of their charioteers, and even of their horses, as may be seen in Pausanias [31]; and sometimes they dedicated the very chariots themselves in which they had gained the victory: an instance of which I have quoted in a former section, from Pindar's fifth Pyth. Ode.

[29] Paus. lib. vi. [30] Anthol. lib. iv. [31] Lib. vi.

It is plain, however, from a passage in Philostratus, cited by Fab. Agon. (lib. iii. c. 12.) that this privilege of a statue was not granted to those conquerors, who were of mean occupations, or had exercised any handicraft trade.

In the sixth book of Pausanias may be seen a large list of statues erected in the altis of Olympian Jupiter, in honour of those conquerors, who had distinguished themselves, either by the number or the singularity of the victories. A list, though too large to be inserted, yet proper to be mentioned in this dissertation, as tending not only to confirm what has been said relating to the statues of the Olympic conquerors, but also to give the reader an idea of the magnificence of Olympia; where, besides the numerous temples, altars, and images of gods, there was to be seen, even in the times of Pausanias, an almost incredible quantity of statues of men, boys, horses, &c. many of them made by those great artists, whom no one since hath ever pretended to excel.

We must now take our leave of Olympia, and pass with the conquerors to their several countries, where we shall find still more honours, more advantageous privileges, and more substantial rewards, conferred upon them.

The public honours paid to them upon their returning into their own countries were very extraordinary; and such as not only equalled the glory, but resembled also the pomp of a Roman triumph, which I doubt not indeed was originally derived from the splendid entries of these sacred conquerors into their own cities.

In the account [32] which Xiphiline, the abridger of Dio Cassius, hath written of the triumphal entry of Nero into Rome, after his victories in Greece, are contained most of the particulars of this ceremony. I shall, therefore, give a translation of the whole passage, adding to it such further circumstances as I find mentioned in other authors.

'When, therefore, he (Nero) made his public entry into Rome, part of the walls was thrown down, and a large breach was made in the gates, upon an information given him by some people, that it was customary to have both those things done for such who had obtained the crown in the sacred Games. The march was begun by those who carried the several crowns which the emperor had gained. These were followed by others, who bore upon the tops of spears little tablets, wherein were specified the Games, the particular contest, against what antagonists, by what pieces of music, and in what plays [33], he had come off victorious; to each of which was added, that Nero Cæsar was the first Roman, from the beginning of the world, who had been proclaimed victor in this contest. Afterwards came the emperor himself, in a triumphal chariot (the very same which Augustus had made use of in his triumphs for the many glorious victories he had gained) in a robe of purple [34], embroidered with stars of gold, crowned with the Olympic olive, and holding the Pythian laurel in his hand, and with him rode the harper

[32] Dio. Cass. in Nero. [33] Suet. in Nero. [34] Ibid.

Diodorus. In this manner, attended by the soldiers, the Roman knights, and the senate, he proceeded through the Circus [35], (an arch of which he had caused to be demolished) and the Forum up to the Capitol; and from thence to the palace [36], and the temple of Apollo: the whole city in the meantime lighting up lamps or torches, wearing crowns and ribbons, and burning incense [37]; while all the multitude, and the senators in particular, cried out, "*Oua* [38], Olympic conqueror! *Oua*, Pythian conqueror! Augustus! Augustus! to Nero Hercules! to Nero Apollo! how singular [39] in thy glory! the only one who hath passed through the whole circle of Games, and come off victorious in them all! the only one from the beginning of the world! Augustus, Augustus! O voice divine [40]! happy are they that hear thee!" In many places as he passed along there were victims slain: the streets were several times strewed with saffron [41]; and birds, ribbons, and confections, were cast into them. After these things he appointed chariot-races in the Circus, whither he brought all the crowns that he had gained [42], and placed them

35 Suet. in Nero. 36 Ibid. 37 Ibid.

38 So it is in the original, a word of exclamation, importing, as it appears from this passage, the same as huzza in English.

39 The word in the original is Περιοδονίκης, which cannot be rendered into English but by a periphrasis.

40 Alluding to the victory he obtained in the musical and poetical contests in the Pythian Games.

41 Suet. in Nero. Ingestæque Aves, Lemnisci et Bellaria.

42 Dio Cass. in Nero.

round the Egyptian obelisk. These were in number one thousand eight hundred and eight.'

That it may not be imagined that the greatest part of the circumstances attending this magnificent procession were peculiar to Nero, as emperor of the world, I shall make it appear, from several instances, that Nero was in all probability governed, as to the ceremonial of this triumphal entry, by what was done on the like occasions by his brother conquerors of Greece. He surpassed them undoubtedly in splendour and magnificence. He had the wealth of the Roman empire, the triumphal chariot of Augustus, the prætorian bands, the knights and senators of Rome, for his attendants; and the metropolis of all the world for the theatre of his pomp.

That it was customary for the sacred conquerors to make their entry through a breach in the walls, is evident not only from the above cited passage of Dio Cass. but from another in the Symposiacs of Plutarch [43], where a reason is assigned for that custom, *viz.* 'That a city which is inhabited by men, who are able to fight and conquer, hath little occasion for walls.'

Vitruvius informs us [44], that the conquerors in the sacred Games, *viz.* the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean, were accustomed to make their entries in chariots drawn by four horses; and Diodorus Sic. [45], speaking of Exænetus of Agrigentum, who, in the 92d Olympiad, came off victorious in the Olympic Games, says, he entered Agrigentum in a chariot drawn by four horses, at-

[43] See also Suet. in Nero. [44] Lib. ix. init. [45] Lib. xiii.

tended by a great multitude of his fellow-citizens; among whom were three hundred, mounted in so many chariots, drawn each by a pair of white horses.

That the Olympic conquerors wore embroidered garments, may be collected from a passage in Lucian [46]; though it is not so clear what colour the ground of those garments was of. Faber [47] thinks they were at first of one colour, either white or purple, and that they were not worked or embroidered till about the time of Lucian. But as Nero, in the cavalcade above described, seems to have been governed in every particular by the practice of the Greeks on the like occasion, and as we find him dressed in a purple or scarlet robe, embroidered with stars of gold, we may very fairly conclude, that a purple or scarlet robe embroidered, though perhaps not in the same pattern, nor with so rich materials, was the triumphal habit of an Olympic conqueror, before the times of Lucian.

Though the degree of servility and adulation, to which the Romans were at this time arrived, may be supposed to have carried them to some excess in the honours paid by the whole city of Rome to Nero at his triumphal entry; such as burning incense, slaying victims, strewing the streets with saffron, &c. as he passed along; honours which might well be thought due to him, whom the senators in their acclamations dignified, and as it were deified, by the titles of Hercules and Apollo; and of which I cannot find any instances among the

[46] In Vita Demonac. [47] Agon. lib. ii. c. 12.

Greeks: yet the custom of carrying lighted lamps, or torches, before the sacred conquerors, is mentioned by Chrysostome[48]; and that of the whole city's wearing crowns and ribbons, is shown by Paschalius[49] to have obtained universally, among the Greeks in particular, upon all occasions of public festivity, among which are to be reckoned these triumphal entries of the sacred conquerors. In the same author likewise we may learn, that it was usual to cast upon the conqueror, as he passed along, herbs, leaves, flowers, chaplets, and ribbons or fillets (ταινίας); which two last, *viz.* chaplets and ribbons, were sometimes presented to them on these occasions by their private and particular friends.

We have seen above, that Nero's cavalcade proceeded first to the Capitol, and then to the temple of Apollo; where, doubtless, he offered sacrifices to Jupiter, the patron of the Olympic, and to Apollo, the patron of the Pythian Games. And this, I think, is highly probable, (though I cannot at present support my opinion by any positive authorities) that he imitated the sacred conquerors of Greece; whose triumphal cavalcades I cannot help considering as religious processions, ending with sacrifices of thanksgiving, either to the tutelary deity of the place, or to the patron of those Games, in which they had gained the victory, and perhaps to both. If we look upon them in this light, and remember at the same time that the country of the

[48] Apud. Fab. Agon. lib. ii. c. 10.
[49] De Coronâ, lib. ii. c. 11. lib. vi. c. 22.

conqueror shared with him in the glory accruing from his victory, we shall be less surprised at finding these triumphs accompanied with so much solemnity and pomp. They were indeed public festivals, in which the whole state was concerned; though, I suppose, the magnificence with which they were celebrated, bore always some proportion to the wealth and dignity of the conquerors themselves, or of their friends, or to that degree of estimation in which they stood with their fellow-citizens. To one or other of these at least they were indebted for those odes which were written purposely for them, set to music, and sung by a chorus [50], either during the procession, or in the temples of the deities, or at the sumptuous entertainments made on these occasions, either by the conquerors or their friends. If neither the conqueror, nor his friends, were able or willing to procure a particular ode in honour of his victory, he was obliged to content himself with that made by Archilochus, or perhaps with a part of it; as I have before observed, in the account which hath already been given of this ode from the scholiast of Pindar.

How sumptuous these entertainments (called by the Greeks νικητήρια, i. e. feasts of victory) sometimes were, and with how much emulation the friends of the conqueror contended with each other for the honour of entertaining him, may be

[50] Instances of what I here advance relating to the several places where these Odes were sung, shall be given in my Notes on the Odes of Pindar.

collected from the following story told by Plutarch in the life of Phocion: Phocus, the son of that great man, having obtained a victory in the Panathenean Games, and being invited by several of his friends to accept of an entertainment on that occasion, Phocion at length ended the dispute by pitching upon one, to whom he thought that preference was due. But when he came to the feast, and saw the extravagant preparations that were made for it, and among other things large vessels filled with wine and spices, set before the guests when they came in, to wash their feet, he said to his son, 'Phocus, why don't you make your friend desist from dishonouring your victory?'

I shall finish this account of the public entries of the conquerors, with observing, that as among the Romans every victory did not entitle a general to the honour of a triumph, so neither among the Greeks did a victory in any Games (of which the number in Greece cannot easily be reckoned) entitle the conqueror to the honour of a public entry. This privilege was confined to a few only, and at first, probably, to those only which were called sacred; namely, the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean. The number of these Games (from this privilege, named *Iselastici Agones*, i. e. Games, entitling the conqueror to a triumphal entry) seems to have been afterwards increased by the authority of the Roman emperors [51]; who, besides that privilege, annexed others to them of the same kind with those anciently, and perhaps ori-

[51] See Pliny's Epistle to Trajan, *De Iselasticis*, with the Emperor's answer.

ginally, appropriated by the Greeks to the four sacred Games. What these were, I shall now proceed to show.

The most considerable of these was the stipend or salary, allotted to the sacred conquerors by their respective cities; which became due, according to the regulation made by Trajan, from the time of their public entry, and was continued to them for the remainder of their lives. It appears indeed by Pliny's letter to that emperor, that the conquerors demanded their salaries from the time of their gaining the victory; and, perhaps, they founded their demand upon the ancient practice of the Greeks. What their stipends or salaries amounted to at their first institution, is no where said; but they seem to have increased in proportion as the fondness, or madness rather, of the Grecians for those sacred conquerors increased, till there was reason to apprehend that they might become burthensome to the public, either from their excess, or from the number of those who were entitled to them. To put a final stop to this growing evil among his own people at least, Solon [52], the great legislator of the Athenians, made a law, by which he limited the annual allowance of an Olympic conqueror to five hundred drachmæ, or sixteen pounds two shillings and eleven pence [53]; that of an Isthmian conqueror to one hundred drachmæ only, or three pounds four shillings and seven-pence; and so of the others in proportion; which by the way shows the great preference given to the Olympic crown.

[52] Laert. et Plut. in Solone.

[53] See Arbuth. Tables.

In Sparta indeed, from whence Lycurgus had banished gold and silver, there was no pecuniary reward allotted to these conquerors, nor any public allowance of provisions, as there was in all the other states of Greece, and even at Athens, till it was either changed by Solon into money, or rated by him at the sums above mentioned. The government of Sparta was calculated for a military people only, and indeed was more proper for a camp than a city; the rewards were of the same kind, rather honourable than lucrative. What that was, which was conferred upon a sacred conqueror, and how highly it was valued by those enthusiastic lovers of military glory, will appear by the answer of a Spartan [54], who at the Olympic Games having been tempted by the offer of a large sum of money, either to decline the contest, or yield the victory, refused it; and being questioned, after he had with much difficulty subdued his adversary, what he should gain by that victory; answered with a smile, 'I shall have the honour of being posted before my king in battle.'

It ought not to be concluded from what has been said, that the Olympic olive was less valued at Sparta than at Athens, or any other of the Greek cities. Lycurgus, the lawgiver of Sparta, is by some authors said to have joined with Iphitus in restoring the Olympic Games; which account, if true, puts this matter out of all question; and if false, could never have gained credit, had the Spartans treated the Olympic olive with contempt. Add to this, that in the list of Olympic conquerors

54 Plut. in Lycurgo.

are to be found the names of several Spartans; and in Pausanias an account of many statues erected at Olympia in honour of their victories; but we may learn what opinion the Spartans in general entertained of the glory of an Olympic victory, by this saying of a Spartan woman [55], who, while she was engaged in a public procession, hearing that a victory had been obtained over the enemies of Sparta, and being told at the same time that her son was dead of the wounds he had received in the battle, instead of pulling the chaplet from her head, and showing any signs of grief, gloried in the news, and said to her companion, 'How much more honourable is it for him thus to die in battle, than to live and gain an Olympic crown!' as if she had said, 'An Olympic victory is esteemed the highest honour; but I think it more glorious for my son to die in battle fighting for his country.' And indeed she gave the preference where it was due.

Another reward conferred upon the sacred conquerors was, the honour of the first seat at all public spectacles. This prerogative is mentioned in a poem written by Xenophanes, and quoted by Athenæus; in which also, besides an allowance of provisions, notice is taken of a present [56] made to them by the public, to serve as a monument of their glory. What these presents were is not said; it is probable they were different in different places. In Cornelius Nepos [57] we read of crowns of gold given at Athens to the Olympic conquerors: perhaps a crown of gold was the usual present of that

55 Plut. in Apophth. Lac.

56 Deipn. lib. x. c. 2. καὶ δῶρον, ὁ οἱ κειμήλιον εἴη.

57 In Alcibiade.

city, the value of which was limited by the law of Solon above mentioned; for that law may as well be understood to relate to the presents as to the yearly allowance of provisions made to the sacred conquerors: and it is evident from the words of Xenophanes, cited by Athenæus, that they were entitled to both.

The last privilege granted to the sacred conquerors, which was an immunity from all civil offices, seems to have been owing to the Roman emperors; who not only preserved to them their ancient rights, but added others from time to time; among these was the exemption just mentioned, of which I can find no traces among the ancient Greeks. Neither was this exemption granted to all the sacred conquerors, but to those only who had gained three victories; as appears from the following rescript of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian: '*Athletis ita demum, si per omnem ætatem certâssent, coronis quoque non minùs tribus certaminis sacri, in quibus vel semel Romæ, seu antiquæ Græciæ merito coronati, non æmulis corruptis ac redemptis probentur, civilium munerum tribui solet vacatio.*' This rescript is as it were the text, which gave occasion to the long and learned work of Petrus Faber, Pierre du Faur, entitled *Agonisticon;* which, as Mons. Burette [58] observes, (whose words I have here translated) may well pass for an ample comment upon a law conceived in so few words.

These are all the honours and privileges, as far as I can find, to which the sacred conquerors were

[58] 3 Mem. sur les Athletes.

entitled either by the laws or customs of their respective countries. To these indeed were sometimes added statues, or other monuments of glory, inscriptions, and even altars, upon which sacrifices were offered to them as to heroes or demi-gods: of which last three instances are recorded in history. The first was Philip of Crotona, an Olympic conqueror, and the most beautiful man of his time; to whom the Egestans, after his death, erected an heroic monument, and offered sacrifices; though, according to Herodotus [59], who relates this story, he seems to have owed these extraordinary honours rather to his beauty than to his Olympic victory.

The second is Euthymus of Locris, an *athlete*, famous for his strength, and for having always come off victorious in the *cæstus* at Olympia, without being ever vanquished. To this conqueror were erected two statues, one at Locris, the other at Olympia, which were both struck with lightning in one and the same day. To him his countrymen the Locrians, in obedience to the commands of an oracle, offered sacrifices not only after his death, but even while he was yet alive: in all which story, says Pliny [60] the naturalist, who relates it, nothing appears to me so wonderful, as the gods having vouchsafed to appoint these sacrifices.

Theagenes, of the island of Thasus, was the third of these heroes or demi-gods; of whose actions and victories, amounting in all to fourteen hundred, as also of his deification, Pausanias [61] recounts many wonders, with which I shall not trou-

59 Terps. c. 47. 60 Lib. i. c. 47. 61 Lib. vi. c. 11.

ble the reader. It is sufficient for my present purpose to observe from that author, that he was worshipped after his death, not by the Thasians only, but by many other people as well Greeks as Barbarians; who set up images of him in many places, and ascribed to them the miraculous power of healing all manner of diseases.

As these honours were in themselves very extraordinary, so were they very uncommon; and seem, if well considered, to have arisen rather from some peculiar circumstance or incident, which either the superstition of the people, or the artifice of those who managed the oracles, denominated miraculous, than from any opinion commonly entertained, that divine honours were really due to the merit of these admired conquerors. They were indeed all of them treated with great reverence and distinction, set above all other mortals, and almost equalled to the gods, as Horace intimates in these words:

Palmaque nobilis
Terrarum Dominos evehit ad Deos.

And with these honours and rewards, I dare say it will be thought, they had more than sufficient reason to be contented.

SECTION XVII.

OF THE UTILITY OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

HAVING in the preceding sections given the best and fullest account, that I have been able to collect, of the original establishment, the laws, order, and economy of the Olympic Games, together with the several honours, privileges, and rewards conferred upon the sacred conquerors in their respective countries, I shall in this endeavour to point out some of the principal emoluments, accruing to the whole Grecian name from this great political institution; which, under the title and sanction of a religious festival, attained to such a degree of reverence and esteem, as enabled it to subsist above a thousand years; a duration exceeding that of any of the most famous empires and commonwealths of the ancient world. If during this long term, the Grecians do not appear to have availed themselves of all the advantages offered to them by the laws and constitution of the Olympic Games, it cannot from hence be concluded, that no such advantages were either originally included in that institution, or could afterwards have been grafted on it: since the Grecians, though they seldom wanted a sufficient number of lawgivers and philosophers, whose sagacity enabled them to discover, as their virtue prompted them to pursue, whatever might conduce to the public good, paid but little deference to the politics of those sage counsellors,

and generally kept their attention fixed upon the particular views, which the separate interests of the several little states, into which they were divided, or the factions which rent those little states into different parties, suggested; and by which they were either so blinded as not to see, or so disjointed as never unanimously to concur in following, those wise schemes which tended to unite them all in one great body, under one common name. Such apparently was the tendency of that law of the Olympic Games, which excluded all who were not Grecians from contending in them; as of that other also, which enjoined a cessation of hostilities among all those states of Greece, which happened to be at war with each other, under the penalty of being refused the liberty of performing their sacrifices to Jupiter at Olympia, upon that his solemn festival. Of the wisdom and policy of these laws the Grecians, indeed, seem to have been so little sensible, as to have drawn from them scarce any of those great advantages which they were calculated to produce; though they eagerly and universally laid hold of some far less important, suggested to them by other parts of this institution. These were the gymnastic and equestrian Games; to the conquerors in which the Olympic olive being offered as an honorary reward, soon kindled among the several states of Greece such an emulation and ardour to excel in all the various exercises of which they consisted, that there was scarce a town of any note, either in Greece itself, or in the colonies of Greek extraction settled along the coasts of Asia and Africa, in the Ionian and Ægean islands, in Sicily, Italy, and many other parts of Europe, in

which there was not a *gymnasium*, or school o exercise, maintained at the public expense, with view of training up their youth in a manner tha best suited, as they imagined, to make them usefu to their country. Neither were they withheld from concurring with this part of the great political institution of the Olympic Games by the partial considerations above mentioned, arising from the different and inconsistent views and interests of the several states, into which Greece was divided; since, though the citizens of every Grecian state were equally admitted to contend, if duly qualified, for the Olympic crown, yet was every state left at liberty to pursue its own particular schemes, whether of ambition or security, notwithstanding the temporary obedience which they all agreed to pay to the Olympic laws; during the celebration of that festival. And therefore, as by training up their youth in the gymnastic exercises, the several states of Greece perceived they were able to qualify their citizens for obtaining the Olympic olive, upon which they came by degrees to set a great, and perhaps too great a value, and render them at the same time serviceable to the commonwealth in those wars, whether offensive or defensive, in which every state, either from its strength or weakness, was almost perpetually engaged; it is no wonder that the gymnastic exercises were so cultivated and encouraged by the Grecians, and came to be esteemed by them as the principal part of the Olympic institution. In which light I shall now consider them, and begin those observations, which I here propose to make, on the utility of the Olympic Games, by showing what advantages the

Greeks in general derived from the gymnastic exercises. To this purpose I shall present the reader with a translation of a dialogue of Lucian, in which this subject is fully treated, under the character of Solon the great legislator of the Athenians, and one of the most renowned of the Grecian sages. Who Anacharsis, the other interlocutor in this dialogue, was, and for what purposes he came into Greece, will appear from the dialogue itself; which I choose to give entire, though it contain some matters not strictly relative to the point in question, because those matters, I am persuaded, will afford the reader both entertainment and instruction. The scene is laid in Athens, in a *gymnasium*, or school of exercise; an exact plan and description of which, from Vitruvius, may be seen in Mercurialis de Arte Gymnasticâ, but which is too long to be here inserted. It may be sufficient to observe, that these *gymnasiums*, or schools of exercise, were very spacious buildings of a square or oblong form, surrounded on the outside with porticos, and containing on the inside a large open area for the exercises, encompassed likewise with porticos, covered places for exercise in bad weather, baths, chambers for oil, sand, &c. a *stadium*, and groves of trees, with several seats and benches up and down; all contrived for the pleasure and convenience of those who frequented them, either on account of exercising themselves, seeing the exercises of others, or hearing the rhetoricians, philosophers, and other men of learning, who here read their lectures, held their disputations, and recited their several performances, whether in prose or verse.

OF

GYMNASTIC EXERCISES.

A DIALOGUE;

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK OF LUCIAN.

SOLON AND ANACHARSIS.

Anacharsis.

TELL me, *Solon*, what those young fellows are about, who are grappled and locked together in that manner, and endeavouring to trip up one another; and those others, who roll and tumble in the mud like so many hogs, and squeeze and throttle each other till they are almost strangled. But just now I saw them strip, anoint and rub one another by turns, very peaceably and like good friends; when all on a sudden, and without any offence taken, as I could perceive, they fell together by the ears, threw their heads in each others faces, and butted like two rams; and now one of them, as you see, has lifted his antagonist off his legs, dashed him upon the ground, and, falling upon him, will not suffer him to rise; but, on the contrary, drives him deeper into the mud, and, twisting his legs about

his middle, and setting his elbow in his throat, seems determined to suffocate him; while the poor wretch at the same time strikes him gently on the shoulder, begging quarter, as I suppose, and beseeching him not to choak him in good earnest. Neither can I observe, that they are in the least shy of dirting themselves, notwithstanding their being rubbed all over with oil: and indeed they soon hide it with mud; by the help of which, and a pretty deal of sweat, they become so slippery, that I cannot forbear laughing to see them sliding like eels out of one another's hands. Yonder too are others, doing the same thing in the open air, with this difference, that instead of mud they are covered over with sand, which they dig up and cast upon one another, while each seems to receive it very willingly; and indeed, like a parcel of cocks and hens, they spread and throw it carefully all over their bodies, in order, as I suppose, to prevent their escaping so easily out of each other's embraces; while the sand, by diminishing and drying up the lubricity occasioned by the oil, gives each of them a firmer and better hold upon his adversary. And now being sufficiently sanded over, they fall to it with hand and foot, without either of them endeavouring to throw down his antagonist. And one of them seems to be spitting out all his teeth, with a whole mouthful of sand and blood, occasioned by a terrible blow which he has just now received upon the jaws. Neither does that magistrate [1] there part them, or put an end to the battle (for I take him to be some magistrate or

[1] The gymnasiarch, or president of the gymnasium.

other, by his being clothed in purple); on the contrary, he encourages them to proceed, and praises that fellow who struck the other on the mouth. In other places too I see others who are in the same manner covered over with sand, and who spring up as if they were running, and yet they remain upon the same spot, and then leap up all together, and kick about their heels in the air. Now I would fain know to what purpose they do all this; for to me it appears so like madness, that no one shall easily convince me, that they who do this are not beside themselves.

Solon. No wonder, Anacharsis, that these things appear strange to you, considering they are foreign, and totally different from the manners of the Scythians; who on their part have undoubtedly many customs, that would in like manner to a Grecian spectator seem as ridiculous and absurd as those do to you. But satisfy yourself, my friend, there is nothing of madness in what you see; neither do those young fellows strike, tumble in the mud, and cover one another over with sand, from a quarrelsome and abusive spirit. These things have their utility and pleasure, and give, besides, no small strength and vigour to our bodies. And I question not, if you continue any time in Greece, as I suppose you intend to do, but you will shortly make one among those dirty fellows, that are smeared all over with mud and sand; so pleasant and so profitable will the thing appear to you.

Ana. Far from it, Solon! You may keep your pleasure and your profit to yourselves; for if any of you was to put me into such a pickle, he should know that I do not wear a sword to no purpose.

But tell me, what name do you give to these things, or what must we say these fellows are doing?

Solon. This place, Anacharsis, is by us called a *gymnasium*, and is dedicated to Apollo the Lycian; whose image you there see leaning upon a column, and holding his bow in his left hand, while his right hand, bent over his head, seems to denote weariness and repose after long labour and fatigue. And as for the exercises, that are performed in this place, that which is practised yonder in the mud is called the palé, or wrestling, as is that also in which those young fellows in the sand are now engaged; but they whom you see standing upright, and beating and buffeting one another, are named pancratiasts. Besides these exercises, we have many more of the like nature; as the exercises of the cæstus, of the quoit, and leaping. Of these consist our Games, in which whoever comes off conqueror, is deemed the best man, and obtains the prize.

Ana. Pray, what may those prizes be?

Solon. In the Olympic Games, a crown made of the branches of a wild olive; in the Isthmian, of the branches of the pine tree; in the Nemean, of parsley; in the Pythian, of laurel [2]; and with us, in our Panathenæan Games, a jar of oil, made from the olive consecrated to Minerva. What do you laugh at, Anacharsis? Is it because you think these prizes trifling and ridiculous?

[2] In the original it is Πυθοῖ δὲ μῆλα τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ. But as the learned are not agreed upon the meaning of μῆλα in this and other passages, and as a crown of laurel, in Pindar and other authors, is given to the conquerors in the Pythian Games, I chose to substitute that instead of translating the above-written words.

Ana. Oh, by no means, Solon. On the contrary, you have reckoned up a parcel of magnificent prizes; such as give their donors good reason to value themselves upon their liberality; and such as are extremely worth all the pains and labours that people undergo to obtain them.

Solon. But, my good friend, we do not singly regard the prizes themselves, but consider them as tokens and ensigns of the victory; the glory attending upon which is of the utmost value to the conquerors. For this, all those who seek for honour from their toils, think it glorious to be kicked and cuffed, since without trouble it is not to be obtained: on the contrary, he who would attain to it must previously undergo many hardships and difficulties, and expect from his labours only an event so delightful and advantageous.

Ana. What you call advantageous and delightful, Solon, is for these conquerors to be crowned in the view of all the world, and to be praised for their victories, who just before were the objects of pity and compassion on account of their wounds and bruises: and yet it seems they think themselves happy if, in return for all their labours, they can get a branch of laurel, or a little parsley.

Solon. I tell you, Anacharsis, you are still ignorant of our customs: but in a little while you will have another opinion of them; when you go to our great festivals, and see the vast concourse of people, and theatres capable of containing many thousands crowded with spectators, who all come to view these contests; when you hear the praises that are bestowed upon the combatants, and the conqueror deemed equal to a god.

Ana. That very thing, Solon, is the most miserable circumstance of all, that they do not suffer these injuries in the sight of a few people only, but in the presence of such a number of spectators, so many witnesses of their shame; who undoubtedly must esteem them very happy, when they see them streaming with blood, or almost strangled by their antagonists, for such is the felicity that attends these victories. But I must tell you, Solon, that amongst us Scythians, if any man strikes another, throws him down, or tears his garment, he is grievously fined by the elders, though the injury was done in the presence of but a few witnesses; and not before such a multitude of people as, you say, come together at the Isthmian and Olympic Games. For my part, I cannot help pitying the combatants for what they undergo, and wondering at the spectators, who, you tell me, come together from all parts to these festivals, neglecting their necessary business, and keeping holiday upon no better a pretence than this. Neither can I conceive what pleasure there is in seeing fellows beat, wounded, dashed against the ground, and mangled by one another.

Solon. If it were now the season, Anacharsis, either of the Olympic, the Isthmian, or the Panathenæan Games, the sight of what passes there would instruct you, that it is not without good reason that we concern ourselves so seriously with these matters. For it is not in the power of language to give you so strong a relish of the pleasure arising from these spectacles, as if, seated there in the middle of the spectators, you yourself beheld the courage of the combatants, the beauty of their

bodies, their surprising health and vigour, their admirable skill, their indefatigable strength, their boldness, their ardour and emulation, their unconquerable resolution, and unwearied application and solicitude to obtain the victory. I am certain you would never cease praising, and applauding, and clapping.

Ana. And laughing, and hooting too, Solon, I can assure you. For all those fine things that you just now reckoned up, their courage, their vigour, their beauty, and their resolution, I see all thrown away for nothing; not to rescue their country from danger, their lands from pillage, or their friends and families from captivity and oppression. The braver, therefore, and the better these fellows are, the more ridiculous they to suffer such things, and endure so much to no purpose; to disgrace and soil with sand, and knobs, and swellings, the comeliness and large proportion of their bodies, that they may be masters of a bit of laurel and wild olive, for I never can forget those same noble prizes. But tell me, are these prizes given to all the combatants?

Solon. By no means: they can fall to the share of but one amongst them all.

Ana. They take all these pains then, Solon, upon an uncertain and doubtful prospect of victory, knowing that there can be but one conqueror, and many conquered; who, poor wretches, must have nothing for their labour but wounds and bruises.

Solon. You seem, Anacharsis, to have no idea of a well-constituted government, or you would not have thus turned into ridicule some of our best and wisest customs. But if ever you come to consider how a commonwealth is to be framed, and how her

citizens are to be ordered for the best, you will then approve of these exercises, and the emulation wherewith we endeavour to excel in them; and will understand that there is much profit mingled with these labours, though now you think them useless and impertinent.

Ana. Indeed, Solon, for no other reason did I come from Scythia to Greece, traversing such a tract of country, and passing over the broad and stormy Euxine, but to be instructed in the laws of the Greeks; to observe their manners, and study the best forms of government. For the same reason, among all the Athenians, and all other strangers, have I selected you for a friend, out of regard to the reputation I have heard of your having composed a set of laws, invented the best rules of life, and introduced among your citizens wholesome disciplines and regulations; and framed indeed the whole system of their commonwealth. Wherefore you cannot have so great an inclination to instruct and take me for your disciple, as I shall have pleasure in sitting by you, even hungry and thirsty as I am, and hearing you discourse, as long as you can hold out, upon laws and government.

Solon. It is no easy matter, my friend, to go through all in a short time; but you shall be instructed, by degrees, in some particulars, concerning the worship of the gods, the duty to our parents, the laws of marriage, &c. And as to what relates to our youth, and the manner in which they are ordered, as soon as they begin to understand what is right, are growing towards men, and can endure labour and fatigue, all this will I now explain to you, that you may understand for what purpose

these exercises have been prescribed to them; and wherefore we oblige them to inure themselves to toil, not with a view to the Games only, that they may obtain the prizes, for to them but few out of many can attain, but that they may by these means be enabled to acquire for themselves and their country a much greater good. There is a contest, Anacharsis, of another kind, and of much more general concern, in which all good citizens should be engaged; and a crown, not made up of olive, pine, or parsley, but comprehending the happiness and welfare of mankind; as liberty, private and public, wealth, honour, the observation and enjoyment of the holy festivals of our country, and the safety and security of our friends and kindred; in a word, all those blessings that we ask of heaven. All these things are interwoven in this crown, and are the result of the contest I speak of; and to which these exercises and these labours are not a little conducive.

Ana. Are not you then, Solon, a strange man, when you had such prizes as these, to tell me of laurel, and parsley, and branches of wild olive, and pine trees?

Solon. Neither will these prizes, Anacharsis, appear trifling to you, when you have heard what I have to say; since they arise from the same principle, and are only lesser parts of that greater contest, and that crown, that beatific crown I spoke of. But my discourse, I know not how, has overleaped all method, and led me to mention those things first, which are transacted in the Isthmian, the Olympic, and the Nemean Games. But, however, as we are both at leisure, and you, as you

say, are desirous of hearing, we may easily run back to the beginning, to that great public contest; for the sake of which, I maintain, all these things were originally instituted.

Ana. Better do so, Solon; besides, the discourse will run faster off when reduced to method. And perhaps I may be persuaded, in a little time, not to laugh when I see a man valuing himself upon his olive or parsley crown. But if you please, let us go into that shady place, and sit down upon those benches, that we may not be troubled with the noise of those who are hollowing to the combatants. Besides, I must confess that I cannot very well bear this hot scorching sun, darting so directly on my bare head; for I thought it advisable to leave my bonnet behind, that I might not appear to be a foreigner by my dress. It is now also the season of the year, in which that hottest of constellations, by you called the dog-star, sets every thing on fire, and makes the air itself dry and parching; especially when the sun, full south and directly over our heads, darts upon us his intolerable beams: wherefore, I am surprised to see that you, who are now in years, neither sweat with heat as I do, nor seem at all disturbed at it, nor look about for a shady place to get under; but, on the contrary, with great ease and contentment receive the sun.

Solon. These unprofitable toils, Anacharsis, these continual rollings in the mud, and these hardships and labours that we endure in the open air and in the sand, serve to arm and fortify us against the darts of the sun; and make us want no bonnet to keep his beams from our heads; but let us go. In this conversation, however, you must not look upon

all I say as law, and so rest satisfied with it; but wherever you shall think me wrong, contradict me and set me right: in which case I shall not fail of attaining one of these two things, either thoroughly to convince you, or by your objections to be myself made sensible of my own errors. Upon which occasion the whole city of Athens will not fail to acknowledge her obligations to you, since in instructing me you shall perceive you oblige her; from whom I shall secrete nothing, but, throwing all into the public stock, will say to the people, 'Ye men of Athens, I indeed gave you laws, such as I believed would be most serviceable to the state; but this stranger here, (pointing to you, Anacharsis,) this Scythian, who is a wise man, hath overthrown all my knowledge, and hath taught me better doctrines and better institutions: wherefore let him be recorded as a benefactor to your state, and let his statue in brass be erected near the image of Minerva, among those heroes from whom our Athenian tribes derive their names.' And assure yourself, that the Athenians will never be ashamed to learn, even from a foreigner and a Scythian, what shall be expedient for them.

Ana. This is what I have always heard, that you Athenians were much given to irony. For how should I, a wanderer, who have always lived in waggons, perpetually moving from place to place, who never dwelt in any city, nor ever saw one till now, how should I be able to discourse upon government, and teach a people, as old as the earth they live on, and who for these many ages have inhabited this most ancient city, under good and wholesome laws? Much less can I instruct thee,

Solon, who from the very beginning, as they say, have applied yourself to that most useful science, of knowing how a state may be best administered, and what laws are fittest to render it flourishing and happy. But, however, I will obey your orders as a legislator, and contradict you where I shall think you mistaken, that I myself may be more thoroughly informed. But see, we are now got out of the sun into the shade, and here, upon these cold stones, we may sit very pleasantly, and with great conveniency. Now begin your discourse, and tell me how, even from childhood, you manage and exercise your youth, so as out of this mud and these labours they come forth good and valiant men; as also how this same sand, and these tumblings and rollings, can conduce to make them virtuous; for this is what I have all along principally wanted to know. For the other matters, you shall teach me as occasion offers. But pray remember, Solon, that you are talking to a foreigner; by which I mean, that your arguments must be neither intricate nor long; for if they run into any length, I am afraid I shall not remember the beginning.

Solon. You yourself, Anacharsis, will be better able to judge when I become obscure, or wander idly and unprofitably from my subject; in either of which cases you have full liberty to interrupt me, to put in what you please, and to cut me short. But if I shoot neither beyond nor beside the mark, you will have no reason to object to the length of my discourse. This is the constant practice of the court of the *Areopagus*, which takes cognizance of capital causes. For when the judges are sitting on the hill of Mars upon any trial, relating to mur-

der, wilful maiming, or setting fire to an house, the parties have leave to plead, and speak by turns, both the plaintiff and the defendant themselves, or orators whom they hire to plead for them. And while they speak to the purpose, the court suffers and hears them patiently. But if any one pretends to make a long preamble to his speech, with a view of inclining the judges to his cause; or attempts to raise compassion or aggravate matters from any circumstance, foreign to the point in question (a practice very frequent among youthful orators), the cryer going to him silences him forthwith, not suffering him to trifle with the court, or involve the cause in words; that the judges may have nothing before them but the plain and naked fact. In like manner, Anacharsis, I constitute you my judge upon this occasion; agreeably therefore to the practice of my own court, give me a patient hearing, or, if you find me playing the orator upon you, command me silence. As long as I keep strictly to my subject, there will be no harm, if I draw out my discourse into some length, for we are not now conversing in the sun, that you need be uneasy should I be a little tedious. This shade is thick, and we are entirely at leisure.

Ana. What you observe, Solon, is very right, and I am much obliged to you for your short digression, by which you have acquainted me with the practice of the Areopagus; a practice truly admirable, and becoming upright judges who purpose to give judgment according to truth. But now to the other matters; and since you have constituted me a judge, I shall, in hearing you, observe the method followed by that court.

Solon. It is necessary in the first place for you to hear, in a few words, what we understand by a city and citizens. By a city, then, we do not mean the buildings, the walls, the temples, and the harbours; all these we look upon as a kind of body, stable and immovable, fitted for the reception of the inhabitants, in whom, as the animating soul, we place the whole power and authority of fulfilling, ordering, commanding, and preserving every thing. Upon this persuasion we take care, as you see, of the body of the city to render it within as beautiful as may be, by adorning it with buildings; and to secure it, as much as possible, from without by walls and ramparts. But our first and principal concern is, how to make our citizens virtuous in mind, and strong in body; for such men are most likely to live decently and orderly together in time of peace, and in war to guard the city, and preserve it free and happy. The care of them in their infancy is left to their mothers, their nurses and tutors; with directions to bring them up and instruct them in all the parts of a liberal and ingenuous education. But as soon as they come to understand what is right and commendable, when a sense of shame, bashfulness, diffidence, and a love of virtue, begins to spring in their minds; and when their bodies are become sufficient to endure toil and labour, their joints and members compact, and more firmly knit together, they are then taken and instructed as to their minds in other branches of learning, and taught in another manner to accustom their bodies to hardships and fatigues. For we are by no means of opinion, that it is sufficient for us to be, either in mind or body, those things only that nature made

us. Either part of us stands in need of discipline and instruction, by means of which, the good that is in us may be rendered much better, and the bad amended and redressed. An example of our proceeding may be taken from the constant practice of gardeners, who, while the plants are low and tender, cover and fence them round, to keep them from being injured by the winds; but when their stems grow large and strong, they prune away their superfluities, and expose them to be shaken and agitated by the winds, in order to render them the more fruitful. To rouse and exercise their minds, we begin with teaching them music and arithmetic, to form their letters in writing, and in reading to pronounce them clearly and exactly. As they advance, we rehearse to them the sayings of wise men, the actions of former times, and other useful lessons, dressed out in metre, that they may the better retain them in their memories. By this means hearing perpetually of brave and virtuous actions, they are incited by degrees, and provoked to a desire of imitating them, that their names in like manner may be sung and admired by posterity. In which kind of poetry we have many pieces written by Hesiod and Homer. When they now draw towards an age fit to be admitted into public offices, and it becomes expedient for them to think of concerning themselves with the affairs of government:—but these matters, perhaps, are foreign to my purpose, which was to explain the intention of the bodily exercises in which we think proper to employ them, and not those of the mind; wherefore I impose silence upon myself, without waiting for the cryer, or the orders of you my judge; who out of

civility and respect, as I suppose, suffer me to go on prating thus idly about matters nothing to the purpose.

Ana. Tell me, Solon, hath the court of the *Areopagus* found out no proper punishment for those who pass over in silence such things that are most necessary to be known?

Solon. I cannot guess why you ask me that question.

Ana. Because, omitting to acquaint me with the particulars relating to the mind, which I esteem the most excellent and the best worth hearing, you are going to relate matters of much less importance, bodily toils, and gymnastic exercises.

Solon. Calling to mind, Anacharsis, what was said at the beginning of this conversation, I was not willing to wander from my subject, lest by saying too much I should perplex your memory; but, if you think proper, I will run over these matters in as few words as possible; leaving a more exact disquisition of them to another opportunity. In order, therefore, to give their minds a proper tone and harmony, we instruct them in our laws; which being written in a large and fair character, are publicly exposed to the perusal of every one, who from their ordinances may learn what is to be done, and what to be avoided. We then introduce them into the societies of good and worthy men, (such as we call sophists and philosophers) from whose conversation they learn to speak pertinently and properly, to act fairly and justly, to live together like fellow-citizens, to attempt no misbecoming action, to pursue what is commendable, and to refrain from all kinds of violence.

Besides all this, we carry them for their instruction into the public theatres, where in the fables, both of tragedies and comedies, are set before them the virtues and vices of former times; that they may avoid the one and emulate the other. To our comic writers we allow the liberty of ridiculing and abusing such citizens as they know to be guilty of any base or unworthy action. And this we do as well for their own sakes, who by such kind of reprimands may be made better, as for the many who may be warned by their means to avoid the censure due to the like offences.

Ana. I have seen those same tragedians and comedians, as you call them, Solon, those fellows with heavy, high-heeled buskins, and robes all over laced with gold; who wore most ridiculous visors, with monstrous gaping mouths, within which they make a most horrid bellowing, and strut about in those odd kind of shoes, I cannot imagine how, without falling: this, if I mistake not, was at the time when you celebrated the festival of Bacchus. Your comedians were shorter, not mounted up so high, and more like men; neither did they roar so loud: but their visors were more ridiculous, and set the whole theatre a laughing. Whereas when those other tall fellows appeared, the audience listened to them with most dismal faces, pitying them, as I suppose, for dragging after them those monstrous shackles.

Solon. It was not the actors, good Anacharsis, whom they commiserated; the poet in all likelihood had set before them some old melancholy story, and put into the mouths of his tragedians some doleful speeches, by which all the audience

was moved to tears. You observed, perhaps, at the same time, some people playing upon flutes, and others standing in a circle, and singing; which music and songs, Anacharsis, are by no means useless; for all these things tend equally to whet and animate the minds of our young men, and make them better. As to our manner of exercising their bodies, which you seemed desirous of knowing, it is this: as soon as their bodies are become a little compact and firm, we strip them naked, and accustom them in the first place to the open air, familiarizing them with all seasons, that they may neither grow uneasy or impatient with heat, nor shrink and yield to the extremity of cold: after this, we anoint and mollify them with oil, to render them more supple; it being, in our opinions, ridiculous to imagine that our bodies, while they yet partake of life, should receive no benefit from the oil, when leather, that is nothing but a dead hide, by being rubbed and softened with it, becomes more tough and durable. On the other hand, contriving various kinds of exercises, and appointing masters in each of them, we cause our young men to learn, some of them the exercise of the *cæstus*, others that of the *pancratium*, that they may be accustomed to endure pain and toil; to brave a blow, and not turn their backs for fear of being wounded: whence there arise two very considerable advantages, for in the first place our youth by these means become more intrepid and bold in danger, and less careful of their persons; and are in the next place rendered more healthy and vigorous. Those, who are instructed in the exercise of wrestling, learn from thence to fall

without any hurt, to rise nimbly, to push and grapple with their adversaries, to twist and turn them, to squeeze them till they are almost strangled, and lift them from the ground. Qualities, that without doubt have their uses; the chief of which is, that their bodies, thus kept in continual exercise, become more robust, and less liable to be injured. The second advantage, and that no inconsiderable one, is, that being perfect and expert in these matters, they will not be at a loss, should they ever have occasion to make use of them in war. For it is evident that such a man, if he be grappled with his enemy, will by his skill in tripping more readily throw him down; or if he be fallen himself, will know how to rise again with great ease and celerity. For all these exercises, Anacharsis, are established with a final view to that contest which is decided by the sword; since through their means we flatter ourselves that we shall be supplied with better soldiers, especially as by softening their naked bodies, and inuring them to labour, we not only make them healthier and stronger, but lighter also, and more lithesome to themselves, though heavier at the same time, and more unwieldy to their antagonists. You guess by this time, I do not question, what sort of fellows they are like to prove in arms, who even naked are wont to strike a terror into their enemies; whose bodies are neither overloaded with flesh, pallid and unactive, nor meagre, white, and livid, like those of women, almost putrefied by being kept always from the air, shivering, apt with the least motion to run down with sweat, and panting beneath the burden of an helmet, especially if the sun shines hot, as he

does at present, from the south. Fine soldiers these for service, who can neither endure drought nor dust: whom the sight of blood throws into disorder; and who die away with fear before they come within the reach of a spear, or feel the sword of the enemy! whereas our tawny, sunburnt, hard-favoured youth, that seem full of spirit, vital heat, and manly vigour, have their bodies in such proper order, as on the one hand to be neither dry nor shrivelled, nor too stuffed or heavy on the other; but keeping them within due limits they waste away, by sweating, all superfluous and useless flesh, and strenuously preserve, without the mixture of any unsoundness, whatever conduces to render them strong and active. For these exercises operate upon our bodies like a winnowing-fan upon corn; blowing away the chaff and straw, and separating, cleaning, and heaping up the grain; the consequence of which is, that they become healthy, and able to go through a great deal of labour and fatigue. Besides, that such a one is a long time ere he begin to sweat, and is seldom or never faint. For, to return once more to our comparison of the corn, let any one take fire and cast it into the grain, and into the chaff and straw, I dare say the latter would take fire much the soonest; while the former would kindle by degrees, neither producing any great flame, nor blazing up at once, but, burning slowly and at bottom, would be a considerable time before it was all consumed: such a constitution of body, in like manner attacked by any toil or sickness, would not be soon affected by it, or easily subdued: the inward parts being all sound and in good condition, and the outward so well for-

tified against all attacks of that kind, as not easily to receive any injury from the assaults either of cold or of the sun himself. And as to their enduring fatigue, a constant stream of inward warmth, collected as it were long before, and kept in reserve against a necessary occasion, furnishes them with a plentiful supply of spirit and vigour, and renders them almost indefatigable: for their having previously inured themselves to toil and labour, increases instead of diminishing their strength; which by being agitated constantly grows the faster. Besides all this, we exercise our youth in running, accustoming them not only to hold out through a long course, but to perform it with the utmost expedition; for which purpose we endeavour to make them light and nimble. Neither are these races performed upon hard or solid ground, but in a deep sand, which sliding away and yielding perpetually to the tread, allows them no sure footing, either to rise upon their feet, or to set them down firmly. They are exercised also in leaping over a trench perhaps, or whatever happens to be in their way; in performing of which, they fill their hands with great pieces of lead: after this they contend with each other in darting, and trying who shall cast his spear the furthest. You saw lying in the gymnasium a lump of brass, circular and not unlike a small shield, but without a handle or thong. You tried to take it up, and found it very weighty, and difficult to be laid hold of by reason of its smoothness; this they toss into the air, and try who shall throw it to the greatest distance, and surpass the rest of his competitors; and this exercise not only strengthens the shoulders, but gives a spring and

vigour even to the extreme parts. Now as to the mud and sand, which at first appeared to you so mighty ridiculous, you shall hear, Anacharsis, wherefore they are spread in the place of exercise. The first reason is, that the competitors may fall soft and without danger; who might hurt themselves by falling upon hard ground. The next is, to promote that slipperiness occasioned by a mixture of mud and sweat, which made you liken them to eels, and which is neither useless nor ridiculous, but exceedingly conducive, on the contrary, to render them strong and vigorous. For under these circumstances they are necessitated to take a fast and firm hold of one another, to prevent their slipping away; and you must by no means think it an easy matter to lift from the ground a man who is all over oil, and mud, and sweat, by the help of which he is constantly endeavouring to fall and glide away from your embraces. All these things, as I said before, are of use in war; whether it be necessary to take up speedily and bear out of the battle a wounded friend, or seize upon an enemy, and carry him off in your arms: for this reason the exercises we propose to them are always carried to an excess; that, having been accustomed to harder things, they may perform easier matters with less difficulty. The sand we make use of for a quite different purpose, namely, to take away the slipperiness occasioned by the oil; for as in the mud they are practised to hold fast an adversary, assisted by the lubricity of his body to escape; in the sand they learn to get away, even when they are so strongly and so firmly held, that one would think it almost impossible to break loose. We re-

ceive also this further benefit from the sand: for being thrown over our bodies when they are in a sweat, it not only prevents immoderate perspiration, and by that means enables us to hold out the longer, but keeps us also from being injured by the winds blowing upon us while our pores are open; besides, it carries away with it all kind of filth, and renders the body more sleek and shining. And indeed I should be glad to set before you one of your white-skinned fellows, that has always lived under cover, and any one of these, who have been bred here in the gymnasium, washing off his mud and sand, and ask you which of the two you would wish to resemble. I am confident you would choose at first sight, without making any experiment of the deeds of either; you would choose, I say, without a moment's hesitation, that compact and well-ordered frame of body, rather than that other delicate complexion, softened and melting almost with luxury and cockering, and looking white, as well from the scarcity of blood, as from its retiring all to the inward parts.

These, Anacharsis, are the exercises in which we educate our youth, and by the means of which we hope to make them strenuous defenders of their country; under whose protection we ourselves may live in liberty, get the better of our enemies if they attack us, and become so formidable to our neighbours round, that they may all stand in awe of us, and the greatest part of them pay us tribute. In peace too we doubt not but to find them the better for our instructions; neither inclined to emulate one another in base and shameful actions, nor through the want of employment turning them-

selves to riot and debauch: these exercises affording them continual occupation, and filling up all the vacancies both of their thoughts and time. And in this, Anacharsis, consists the public good and happiness of a state, to have its youth perpetually busying themselves in useful and commendable employments, so as to be equally fitted and prepared either for peace or war.

Ana. Therefore, Solon, when your enemies come to attack you, smearing yourselves over with oil and sand, you march forth in that manner to assault them with your fists: and most certainly they have great reason to be afraid and run away, lest, as they stand gaping, you may chance to fill their mouths with sand, or jumping round them you may get upon their backs, and then twisting your legs about their bellies, choke them with placing your elbows upon their throats underneath their helmets. And supposing they should, as they will undoubtedly, attack you with their bows and spears, those weapons can have no more effect upon you, than upon so many statues, because of your being so burnt and hardened in the sun, and so abounding with blood. For being neither chaff nor straw, you will not be soon susceptible of a wound; and if you should, after a considerable time, and with much difficulty, be wounded, it must be a deep and grievous gash indeed, that draws a little, and but a little blood upon you. This, I think, is what you say, unless I entirely mistake your argument. Or perhaps, upon such an occasion, you will arm yourselves with all the equipage of your tragedians and comedians; and, if you go forth to battle, put on their grinning head-pieces, to make yourselves

terrible to your enemies, and scare them with your frightful faces.' And pray do not forget those same high-heeled buskins, which will prove very light for you, should you have occasion to run away. Or if you are in pursuit of the enemy, it will be impossible for them to escape you, coming after them with such mighty strides. Consider then, Solon, whether all these pretty things be not trifling amusements, fit only for such young fellows as love idleness, and have nothing better to do. To be really free and happy, you stand in need of other kinds of schools, and of the only true exercise, that of arms. Neither must this contest be carried on in sport with one another, but with an enemy, where danger may teach you courage. Wherefore, laying aside your oil and sand, instruct your young men in the management of their bows and javelins: not putting into their hands such light darts as are to be carried away with every puff of wind; but a weighty spear, that whizzes as it flies, or a stone that is as much as they can lift; and a sword, a target on their left arms, a breast-plate, and a helmet. As you now are, your safety seems to me owing to the favour of some god, who has saved you hitherto from perishing by the attack of a few light-armed soldiers. Should I now draw the little sword that I carry here at my girdle, and singly fall upon all your young fellows there, I leave you to guess whether I could not make myself master of the gymnasium, merely by shouting, while they would all scamper away, not one of them daring to look upon a naked sword; and I in the meantime should die with laughing, to see them creeping round the statues, hiding behind the pillars, weep-

ing and trembling. Their bodies would not then appear so ruddy as you see them at present, but turn pale, and take a tincture from their fear. Such are the effects of your profound peace, that you cannot stand the sight even of the plume of an hostile helmet.

Solon. The Thracians, Anacharsis, who, headed by Eumolpus, made war upon us, and those Amazonian horse of yours, who under the conduct of Hippolita attacked our city, and all those other people who have tried us in the field, never spoke of us in this manner: neither, my good friend, ought you to have imagined that we go out unarmed to battle, because our youth perform their exercises naked, in which as soon as they are perfect we teach them the management of their arms; and they handle them, I can assure you, not a whit the worse for having learned the other.

Ana. And where, I pray you, is the school in which you teach the exercise of arms; for I have seen nothing like it in the city, though I have been all over it?

Solon. But if you continue among us for any time, Anacharsis, you will find that every man is well furnished with arms, which we make use of when there is occasion, as well helmets as caparisons and horses, and horsemen too; almost one fourth part of the citizens consisting of horsemen. Though we think it needless in time of peace always to carry arms and wear a sword. On the contrary, whoever is discovered with arms, either in the city or in the assemblies of the people, is liable to be fined. You Scythians, indeed, are to be excused for going always armed, considering

that you not only dwell in an open country, in which you are perpetually exposed to sudden invasions and surprises, but are constantly at war with one another. An enemy, before you are aware, may fall upon you in your sleep, drag you out of your waggons, and cut your throats. Thus your mutual distrust of one another, and your not living together under any certain laws or government, makes it necessary for you always to carry arms, that they may always be in a readiness to defend you in case of an attack.

Ana. You deem it therefore, Solon, quite needless to wear a sword when there is no occasion, and are for saving your arms lest they should be spoiled by handling; for which reason you lay them up carefully till you want to use them; and yet, without being compelled to it by any urgent reason, you exercise and batter the bodies of your young men, exhaust them with continual sweatings, and prodigally pour into the dirt and sand that strength, which you ought to husband and reserve against a necessary occasion.

Solon. You seem, Anacharsis, to consider bodily strength in the same light as you do wine, or water, or any other liquid; and to be afraid, lest in the agitation of these exercises it should leak out of the vessel imperceptibly, and leave us nothing but a hollow, dry, and empty body. But the case is quite otherwise; the more you draw it off in exercises, the faster it flows in; according to the fable of the Hydra, (if you have ever heard it) who in the room of one head that had been cut off, had always two others immediately sprouting up. A body indeed never inured by labour, nor braced by exer-

cise, and that has not a sufficient strength of constitution, would quickly be impaired and destroyed by toil. Between which and the former there is the same difference as between a fire and a lamp; the former is kindled and increased, and set into a blaze, by the same blast of wind by which the latter, for want of being sustained by a due supply of fuel, is soon extinguished.

Ana. I do not rightly understand you, Solon; your arguments are too subtle, and require a more accurate attention, and a sharper penetration than I am master of. But this I would fain know, what is the reason that in the Olympic, Isthmian, Pythian, and your other Games, at which, you tell me, there is always a great concourse of people to see the youth perform their exercises, you never have a combat of armed men; but bring them there naked, for the spectators to see them kicked and cuffed about, and then to the conqueror you give a branch of laurel or wild olive? The reason why you do this is certainly worth knowing.

Solon. We imagine, Anacharsis, that they will apply themselves with more eagerness to their gymnastic exercises, if they see those who excel in them honoured upon these occasions, and proclaimed conquerors in the presence of all Greece. For the same reason, as they appear there naked, they take care that they may not be disgraced, to have their bodies in good order, and to render themselves in all respects worthy of the victory: neither are the prizes, as I said before, mean and trifling: to be applauded by all the spectators, to be distinguished and pointed out, as a man that has proved himself the best among all the youth his rivals, is surely no

inconsiderable reward. Hence also many of the spectators, who are of an age proper for these exercises, and whose hearts are not a little animated with these things, return home enamoured of toil and virtue. And indeed, Anacharsis, if you take out of human life the love of glory, what virtue can a man expect to find, or who will be fond of performing any splendid action? And now you may be able to form some judgment to yourself, what sort of men they are like to prove in arms, and fighting for their country, their wives, their children, and their gods, who, for the sake of an olive or a laurel crown, contend even naked with so much eagerness for the victory. What would you say, if you beheld the battles of our quails, and our fighting cocks, and the no small earnestness with which we attend to them. You would laugh most assuredly, especially when you were informed, that we do this in obedience to a law, by which all our youth are ordered to be present, and to view these little birds maintaining the battle to their latest gasp. Neither is it ridiculous, considering that in the meanwhile there steals imperceptibly into our hearts a certain promptitude to face danger, that we may not show ourselves less generous and less intrepid than cocks, and yield the victory through an inability to bear wounds, and toil, and hardships. But far be it from us to make trial of our youth in arms, and see them wounding one another; for besides that it is barbarous and savage, it would be very ill husbandry indeed, to massacre thus in sport our best men, whose valour might better be employed against an enemy. But since you tell me, Anacharsis, that you intend to travel over all Greece,

remember when you come to Lacedæmon, not to laugh at the Spartans, nor conclude that they are labouring in vain, when you behold them in the theatre fighting and banging one another for a ball, or in a place encompassed on all sides with water, dividing themselves into two battalions, and attacking each other naked, till either the troops of Hercules, or those of Lycurgus, (for so those two battalions are called) drive the other out of the inclosure, or force them into the water. After which there is peace between them, and no man strikes a blow. But more particularly have a care of laughing, when you see the children whipped at the altar, and streaming down with blood, their fathers and their mothers being present all the while, and, instead of grieving at such a sight, urging their children with threats to bear the lashes, beseeching them to hold out as long as possible against the pain, and endure their miseries with courage. And indeed many have died under the trial, disdaining to give out in the presence of their relations while they had any life left, and to show any weakness for their bodies: and in honour of these have the Spartans erected statues at the public charge. Wherefore, when you see all this, conclude not that they are mad, nor say that without any necessity they torment themselves, not compelled to it either by a tyrannical master or an enemy. Lycurgus, their legislator, could without doubt have given many good reasons, why he chose to afflict them in this manner, having no intentions, either as an enemy or out of ill-will, to waste and consume their youth. His design, on the contrary, was to render those, upon whom was to depend

the safety of their country, as hardy and brave as possible, and superior to all kinds of evil. And certainly you yourself may well imagine, without being told it by Lycurgus, that such a Spartan, if he should happen to be taken by the enemy in war, would never, for the apprehension of the lash, divulge the secrets of his country: but, smiling, would endure the torture, and strive with the executioner which should be first tired.

Ana. Pray, Solon, was Lycurgus himself scourged in his younger days, or did he produce these pretty youthful inventions of his at an age that excluded him from undergoing them himself?

Solon. He framed his laws in his old age, after his return from Crete, where he had resided for a considerable time, having heard that the Cretans were governed by excellent laws, given them by Minos, the son of Jupiter.

Ana. Why then, Solon, do not you follow the example of Lycurgus, and scourge your youth, for these are wholesome things, and worthy your imitation?

Solon. Because, Anacharsis, the exercises we have are sufficient for our purpose, and of our own growth; and we do not think fit to borrow from strangers.

Ana. That is not the reason; the truth is, you are sensible what it is to be scourged naked, with your hands raised up above your head, and that without any benefit accruing from it, either to yourself or your country. Wherefore if I should happen to be at Sparta, at the time of their performing these disciplines, the people, I doubt, will immediately knock me on the head for laughing at

those fools, who suffer themselves to be whipped like a parcel of knaves and thieves. And to say truth, a government that can allow of such ridiculous things stands in need of a good dose of hellebore.

Solon. Think not, however, my good friend, because you plead without an adversary, of prevailing against them in their absence, and condemning them unheard. You will find men in Sparta able to reply to your objections, and give you a reasonable account of their proceedings. But since I have gone through, at your request, many of our customs, which however you seem not entirely to approve, it cannot sure be thought unreasonable, if I desire you, in return, to explain to me the manner in which you Scythians exercise your youth; what schools you have for their education, and how you make them good and valiant men.

Ana. Your request, Solon, is very reasonable: you shall have an account of our Scythian customs, plain and simple ones perhaps, and very much differing from yours; for we do not so much as strike a man a blow upon the face, such cowards are we. But be they as they will, you shall hear them. If you please, however, we will adjourn our conversation till to-morrow, that I may not only think at leisure upon what you have said, but muster up in my own mind all I have to say to you. For the present let us finish here, for it grows toward evening.

FROM what is set forth under the character of Solon in the preceding dialogue, the reader may

perceive with what view the founders of the Olympic Games proposed their olive chaplet as a reward to those who excelled in any of the gymnastic exercises. How well they were seconded by the legislators and governors of the several states of Greece, may be collected from the great honours, privileges, and immunities bestowed on the sacred conquerors in their respective countries; all which demonstrate the high opinion entertained by all the Grecians of the utility of the gymnastic exercises. Of this Plato himself was so sensible, that he delivers it as his opinion, that every well-constituted republic ought, by offering prizes to the conquerors, to encourage all such exercises as tend to increase the strength and agility of the body, as highly useful in war. That such was the general tendency of the gymnastic exercises will easily be admitted; and that the two qualities just mentioned were very proper to be cultivated in a soldier, will, I believe, as easily be allowed by those who consider the manner of fighting practised among the Grecians. Their armies for many ages consisted chiefly, if not wholly, of infantry; cavalry, either from the great scarcity of horses, or from their ignorance in managing them, having been late introduced among them, as I have before observed. Their arms were swords and spears, bows and slings being not of general use. Hence in all their battles the two armies came always to a close engagement, in which strength and agility of body could not but be greatly serviceable to every soldier in particular, and to the whole army in general, as well for offence and defence, as for other purposes; such as seizing on an enemy, or bearing off a

wounded friend, expressly taken notice of in the dialogue of Lucian. This whole matter is set in its proper light by Plutarch, in his *Symposiacs* [1], or table-talk; where, in answer to the question, 'Which was the most ancient of the gymnastic exercises?' started by some of the company, he observes, that as they were all originally copied from what was practised in war, and intended to prepare and fit men for it, it is to be concluded that boxing was the first, wrestling the second, and running the last: since, in a battle, the first business of a soldier is to strike and ward; the next, when the armies come to a closer engagement, and fight hand to hand, is to push and throw down the enemy; the last to pursue or fly. And he tells us, at the same time, that the Thebans were said to have been indebted to their superior skill and practice in the art of wrestling, for the famous victory obtained by them over the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra. An exercise in which, as we learn from another passage in the same author [2], Epaminondas, as soon as he conceived the generous design of freeing his country from the tyranny of Sparta, took care to have his fellow-citizens well instructed, frequently matching them with Spartans, and taking occasion from their victories in the *gymnasium*, to encourage them not to dread those adversaries in the field, whom they had found to be so much inferior to them in strength.

The Greeks, as I have said, were distributed into several petty independent states, whose strength and security depended wholly upon the number of

[1] Lib. ii. Quæst. 5. [2] In Pelopida.

men, which, upon occasion, they were able to bring into the field. The principal object therefore of every government, was to make that number as large as possible. To this end, as no one was exempted from serving his country in war, every man of free condition (for slaves were not admitted into their armies unless on very extraordinary emergencies) from the highest to the lowest, was from his youth trained up in such a manner, as by them was judged most conducive to that purpose; that is, in learning and practising the gymnastic exercises: by which, though they were not directly instructed in the management of their arms, yet they were inured to toil, and rendered hardy, healthy, vigorous, and active: qualities which, however little regarded among us at present, were by the wisest men among the Grecians esteemed absolutely necessary in a soldier. And indeed this attention to the rendering the bodies of their citizens healthy and robust, was by some of them carried even to a vicious excess; so far as to lead them to neglect or overlook some other matters, of at least equal, if not superior importance to a well-constituted government: instances of which might easily be produced from the famous institutions of Lycurgus, and even from the no less famous commonwealth of Plato: in both which many absurdities, indecencies, and immoralities, even of a very heinous nature, were allowed of, merely for the sake of furnishing the state with a race of strong and healthy citizens.

But in pursuing this point of the gymnastic exercises, esteemed so beneficial to the public, and for that reason so cultivated and encouraged in all

the great Games of Greece, as well as in those celebrated in every state and city, the Grecians at length fell into an error, into which many states and communities, as well as private people, both before and since have fallen, even in matters of more serious concernment. They came to mistake the means for the end. For by overrating the victories obtained in the gymnastic exercises, and rewarding the conquerors with greater honours than were in reason due to them, they in time caused those victories to be considered, by the multitude at least, as the final objects of their ambition. Whence it came to pass, that numbers among them, instead of being made good soldiers, became only eminent Athletes; and that course of education, which was set on foot with a view of making every man useful to his country, tended to render many not only useless on those occasions, in which the exigencies of the commonwealth might require the assistance of all its members, but even burdensome to the public: every city being, if not by law, at least by a custom grown in length of time equivalent to a law, obliged to maintain the gymnastic conquerors for the rest of their lives. But this was not the only, nor the heaviest inconvenience that arose from the too great encouragement given to the Athletes: by which term I understand those who followed and practised the gymnastic exercises as a science and profession: an abuse which began in Greece a little before the times of Plato, as we learn from Galen [3], who every where inveighs most bitterly against it: insemuch

[3] Ad Thrasybul. c. 33.

that he will not allow the athletic[4] art a place among those which are styled liberal, and even refuses it the honourable title of gymnastic; a title in which some people affected to dress it out. The reasons of the indignation, which this learned physician expresses against the Athletes, are principally founded on the pernicious effects of the regimen observed by them, many of which he enumerates; and concludes all with saying, that mankind ought to hate and detest a profession, the excellency of which consists only in disordering the natural constitution of the body, and ruining that kind of strength and vigour, which qualifies a man to be useful to his country, by introducing one of another kind, which can only tend to make him a burden to it. He adds, that upon many occasions he had found himself a great deal stronger than some Athletes of eminence, who had gained several prizes: this sort of men, continues he, not being fit to undergo either the fatigues of travelling, or those of war, and still less proper for civil employments, or the toils of agriculture: in short, neither good for counsel nor execution.

Euripides, in one of his satirical pieces, a fragment of which is preserved by Athenæus[5], speaks of the Athletes with the same virulence and contempt: and Plutarch compares them to the pillars of a *gymnasium*, as well for the qualities of their minds, as for those of their bodies; and in one place[6] he confesses, that nothing had so much contributed to the effeminacy and servility of the Greeks, as this abuse of the gymnastic exercises,

4 See Mons. Burette's 1 Mem. sur les Athletes.

5 Deip. lib. x. c. 2.

6 De Sanit. tuendâ.

which had rendered them unfit for military duty, and had caused them to prefer the qualities of an excellent Athlete to those of a good soldier.

But I must here repeat what I hinted at in another place, on occasion of a passage there cited from the same author, in his life of Philopœmen, that this heavy charge against the Athletes falls with the greatest weight upon those, who exercised themselves in the cæstus and pancratium; their regimen being the most liable to all the pernicious consequences enumerated by Galen, and the most opposite to that of a soldier.

But without taking into the account all the inconveniences just now insisted on, in many of which the Athletes were joint sufferers with the state, it was certainly a considerable prejudice to the public, to have any number of men called off from their own occupations and affairs, from all duties civil and military, from commerce and agriculture, not to mention the study of the liberal arts and sciences, to the practice of a profession, in which, to arrive at any perfection, they must consume their youth, their health, and fortune, and become chargeable to their friends and country (over which, says Laertius [7], they seem by their victories to triumph, rather than over their antagonists), and by which they contributed to the lowering the value of a crown, originally intended for the encouragement of those only, who by the same qualities, which entitled them to it, were rendered serviceable to their country: a crown, for the obtaining of which, however glorious and sacred, a

7 In Solon.

man of a noble and ingenuous spirit might well disdain to enter the lists with a professed prize-fighter. And by these means were all the salutary views of those, who first instituted the public Games, in great measure disappointed: and the benefits naturally growing out of a proper and moderate use of the gymnastic exercises, converted into mischiefs by the intemperate and short-sighted folly of the Greeks; who, to borrow a metaphor from Pindar, neglecting the mark, and aiming to throw their arrow too far, over-strained and broke the bow. An evil, which seems to have been foreseen and provided against by Solon and Lycurgus, the wise lawgivers of their two greatest commonwealths, Athens and Lacedæmon. The former of whom, by limiting the reward of an Olympic conqueror to no very considerable sum, endeavoured to check the immoderate ardour of his countrymen for the gymnastic exercises; and the latter not only forbade his Spartans to contend in the *cæstus* and *pancratium*, but by rewarding a victory in the Olympic Games with a military post of honour, made it necessary for those, who aspired to the olive crown, to qualify themselves for obtaining it in such a manner, as might render them at the same time worthy of the honourable rank annexed to it.

These abuses, however, did not grow up all at once; and probably did not arrive at the vicious excess above described, till the Grecians, having been first subdued by the Macedonians, and afterwards by the Romans, lost, together with their liberty, every sentiment of true virtue and glory; and having no worthier an object than one of the

four sacred crowns left them to contend for, turned all their ambition and application to the obtaining an honour, which, in the most flourishing periods of Grecian liberty and glory, had ever been regarded with the highest esteem and veneration.

But be that as it will, it is evident from the authorities above cited, and the reasons before given, that the gymnastic exercises were for many ages considered as beneficial to the public; and so undoubtedly they were, while they were kept within due bounds, and directed to the purposes for which they were originally intended; in which point of view, all political institutions, systems of religion and government, and the prevailing customs and manners of any people, ought principally to be considered by every one, who is desirous of searching out their original causes, and drawing any advantages from the wisdom of remote ages and distant countries; the abuses in any of these being generally to be charged upon the ignorance or corruption of after-times; and never to be urged as arguments against the proper use, for the sake of which they were at first received, and afterwards continued and maintained.

I shall therefore now proceed to point out some further advantages of a civil nature, arising from the gymnastic exercises; one of which was hinted at in the preceding dialogue. This is the employment furnished by their means to the idle of all ages and conditions. By the idle I do not mean the indolent and slothful, but those who, either on account of their youth, or for other reasons, were not engaged in the service of the state; those, whom a competent supply of all the necessaries of

life exempted from labour and business; and those whose occupations allowed them any considerable portion of vacant time. Such citizens, and of such there is always too large a number in every populous and wealthy community, are always dangerous to the peace and order of a commonwealth; which, merely for want of something to do, they are too apt to disturb and break by riotous and factious enormities. To these the gymnasiums, or schools of exercise, erected in every city, and furnished with masters, &c. at the public cost, were always open; and thither they were encouraged and invited to resort, not only from the influence of a prevailing fashion, which had made the learning the gymnastic exercises a part even of a liberal education, or the hopes of attaining one day to the great honours and rewards bestowed upon the conquerors in the sacred Games, but even upon the score of amusement and health: there being many exercises taught and practised in those schools, which, though not admitted into the public Games, were nevertheless of great and frequent use, and tended equally with those of which I have been hitherto speaking, to render the bodies of the practitioners healthy, vigorous, and active. These were the several kinds of dances; some or other of which were constantly introduced on all occasions of festivity, private and public, as marriages, religious festivals, &c. and were performed by a chorus, consisting of a certain number of citizens. Those calculated principally for amusement were several sports, performed with balls of different sizes. Of all which, comprehended likewise under the general name of gymnastic, the curious reader may find a

particular account in three pieces written by Mons. Burette, and printed in the second volume of 'Memoires de Literature de l' Academie Royale des Inscriptions,' &c. Of these several exercises the physicians likewise took advantage, frequently prescribing one or other of them to their patients, in such proportions as their different cases required; as may be seen in Mercurialis, and others. The uses indeed last mentioned were only collateral, neither proceeding by direct consequence from the Games, nor immediately relating to them. But as the gymnastic exercises owed the great vogue and reputation which they acquired, principally to the Olympic Games, and the other three institutions of the same kind; and as the gymnasiums, with all their apparatus of masters of several sorts, baths hot and cold, open and covered places for exercise, &c. were originally founded and maintained, with a view of preparing the Ascetics for those Games, we may very fairly place to their account all the profit accruing to the public from every species of the gymnastic exercises, and from all the various uses of the *gymnasium:* which latter may be considered as a kind of state hospital, where that great branch of physic called prophylactic, or preventive, so much cultivated by the ancients, though entirely neglected by the moderns, was practised with great success on all the members that compose the body politic; which, by the regimen there prescribed, not only found its natural health, vigour, and spirits fortified and augmented, but was kept from falling into many dangerous maladies, proceeding from idleness and luxury, those morbid princi-

ples of political, as well as natural corruption and dissolution.

And this leads me to consider another point of no small importance; namely, the temperance and sobriety, which all, who aimed at any eminent proficiency in the gymnastic exercises, were necessitated to observe. This is taken notice of by Horace in these verses:

Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,
Multa tulit fecitque puer; sudavit, et alsit;
Abstinuit venere et vino [8].

A youth, who hopes the' Olympic prize to gain,
All arts must try, and every toil sustain;
The extremes of heat and cold must often prove,
And shun the weakening joys of wine and love.
Francis.

And to this St. Paul alludes, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians [9] (in whose territory, and under whose direction, the Isthmian Games were celebrated) in the following passage: 'Know ye not that they, who run in the *stadium*, or foot-race, run all, and yet but one receiveth the prize? so run therefore, that ye may obtain. Moreover, every one that contendeth in the Games (πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος) is temperate in all things. They indeed, that they may obtain a corruptible crown; but we, an incorruptible. Wherefore I for my part so run, as not to pass [10] undistinguished (ὡς ἐκ

[8] Art. Poet. ver. 412. [9] C. ix. ver. 25.

[10] ὡς ἐκ ἀδήλως may also signify in this place, as if I was not unseen not unobserved, *i. e.* as if I was in the presence of the judge of the Games, and of a great number of spectators. But this, as well as other parts of my translation of this passage, I submit to the more learned reader.

ἀδήλως), so fight (πυκτεύω), not as beating the air (*i. e.* practising in a feigned combat, without an adversary), but I bruise and mortify my body (ὑπωπιάζω) and bring it under subjection, lest after having served as a herald (κηρύξας) to others (by introducing them into the Christian stadium) I myself should come off without honour and approbation (ἀδόκιμος γένωμαι).' Though there are but two expressions in this passage that relate to the point in question, yet I thought proper to translate the whole, that I might show and explain the several allusions to the Games, here made use of by St. Paul; and make the reader understand the full force of the argument urged by him upon the Corinthian converts, to incite them to the practice of those virtues, which (he tells them) would be rewarded with a crown of everlasting glory; and which, for the sake of a fading and perishable crown, were practised by their unbelieving brethren.

To what a degree of strictness these latter carried their temperance and continency of all kinds, with regard especially to the two pleasures mentioned by Horace, women and wine, may be seen in many instances collected by Faber[11], to whom I refer the reader: and how much those virtues may be supposed to have contributed to the health and vigour of their bodies (to say nothing of their minds) may easily be conjectured, from the wretched and deplorable effects occasioned by their contrary vices; of which every one's experience cannot fail of suggesting to him but too

[11] Agon. lib. iii. c. 4.

many examples among people of all ranks and conditions in this debauched and luxurious age.

But as this strict temperance was necessary only to those, who were ambitious of excelling in the gymnastic exercises, so it may be imagined to have been observed by a very small number; but if it be remembered, that besides the four sacred Games so often mentioned, there were others, almost innumerable, of the same nature, celebrated in every Grecian town and city, in which the prizes were some of them lucrative, and all of them honourable, it may on the contrary be presumed, that the number of those, who aspired to the honour of a victory in any of these Games, was pretty considerable; especially before the athletic art came to be embraced and followed as a profession: consequently many people in every Grecian state were for many ages kept sober, temperate, and chaste, at least to a certain degree, by the mere influence of an ambition, which, through the encouragement of the public, and by the various means of gratifying it, offered to people even of the lowest condition, may not unreasonably be supposed to have been almost universal: and this could hardly fail of rendering those virtues fashionable, and thereby recommending them to the practice of all those, who seek for no other rule of life but the example of others. It may not indeed be easy, at this distance of time, exactly to determine how far this influence operated; and I may perhaps be thought, by some people, to have given it a larger sphere of action, than either reason or history will justify. All, therefore, that I shall at present insist upon is, that the gymnastic exercises, from the several causes above assigned,

must have had a considerable effect upon the manners and morals of the Greeks, in proportion to the degree of extensiveness and care, with which they were cultivated and encouraged.

As a farther discouragment to vice and immorality, the reader may be pleased to recollect, that no one, who was guilty of any flagrant or notorious crime, or was depraved in his morals, could be admitted to contend for the Olympic crown, however otherwise well qualified to obtain it. To this end every candidate, at the opening of the Games, was conducted along the stadium by a herald, who, with a loud voice, demanded whether there was any person in all that numerous assembly, who could accuse such a one (naming his name, &c.) of any crime; or charge him with leading a profligate and vicious life; neither was it sufficient for the candidate himself to have a character free from any gross and scandalous imputation, unless he could also in some particular points clear those of his parents and ancestors, by showing there was no bastardy nor adultery in his lineage, as I have observed in a former section. The sanctity of the Olympic Games, considered as a religious festival, undoubtedly gave occasion to this strict inquiry into the characters of those who were admitted to contend in them: and in this particular, as in many others, it is probable the example set by the Eleans, was followed by the superintendants of the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean Games, all which were esteemed in like manner sacred. And so indeed were all the Games, those at least that were celebrated at certain and stated periods, throughout Greece; of

which the number was very considerable, though the title of sacred seems to have been appropriated by way of eminence to the four above mentioned. Now, if it be supposed, (and I see no reason why it may not be supposed) that every man of an infamous and vicious character was, upon that account, excluded as a profane person, from contending in any of these Games, the greatest part of which was founded in religion, it must be allowed that these institutions could not but have checked in some degree, and for some time, the growth of vice and immorality among the Grecians; weeds so natural to the human soil, that it requires the greatest attention, and the utmost force of culture; that is, not only good laws, but a strict and diligent execution of those laws, to keep them under. The laws of the Olympic institution were good; by which I mean, were calculated for the service of the public. And if they failed of their proper effects for want of having been duly executed, we are not to regard and censure them as useless, till we can find a country or a society, in which the administration of the laws comes up to the intention of the legislator.

I have here purposely omitted saying any thing of the equestrian Games; having in those sections, which treat of the horse-races, endeavoured to point out the utility of that part of the Olympic institution, by showing that it was intended to encourage the breed and management of horses; of which noble and useful animal there was for many ages a great scarcity in Greece. What success it met with, may in some measure be collected from some instances produced above, of

the great number of chariots contending at one time in the Olympic *hippodrome*. Whether the equestrian candidates were subjected to the public inquiry into their characters, mentioned above, I cannot positively say, though I think it most probable that they were: since the reasons taken from the sanctity of that religious festival affect them equally with the gymnastic candidates. But this point I shall leave with the reader; and now, having shown how much vice in general, as well as what particular species of it, was checked and discountenanced by the gymnastic exercises, and by some laws of the Olympic institution, I shall proceed to point out what virtues, or what principles of virtue, were encouraged and inculcated by others. In enumerating these, I shall pass over such as properly belong to the gymnastic exercises, and of which sufficient notice hath been already taken, such as temperance, fortitude, patience, &c. and confine myself to speak of those only, which have an immediate reference to the Olympic Games.

The first and most obvious of these is the love of glory, which (to use the words of Solon in the foregoing dialogue) 'if you take away out of human life, what virtue shall we have left among us? and who will be ambitious of performing any splendid action?' How powerful an incentive the love of glory is to all generous and noble deeds, is sensibly experienced by great and ingenuous minds; and may easily be evinced by numberless instances in the ancient histories of the Greeks and Romans: among whom, as glory was the principal, if not the sole reward of all virtue, civil as well as

military, so was the sense and love of glory perpetually stimulated and inflamed in the breasts of men of all orders and degrees, by many marks of honour bestowed on the deserving; such as the several military crowns, supplications, ovations, triumphs, statues, medals, &c. among the Romans: and among the Grecians, statues, inscriptions, crowns, sometimes of gold, with many other testimonies of the approbation and gratitude of the public, differing according to the different customs, or genius, of each particular state. Of the same kind was the Olympic olive, the Pythian laurel, &c. which, having no intrinsic value in themselves, could be of no use to the conquerors, but merely as emblems and evidences of their victories, and as such entitling them to the esteem and applauses of their countrymen. By the meanness of these prizes, therefore, were the Grecians given to understand, that praise and glory were the proper recompenses of worthy actions. A doctrine indeed which great and worthy minds alone can perceive, by the inward light of their own native virtue; but which, by the force of education and example, may be inculcated into narrow and groveling spirits, till by degrees it becomes the favourite sentiment even of a whole people; and men of all ranks, orders, and professions, from the king to the lowest servant, and the most inconsiderable subject of the state, shall think themselves well paid for any service done the public (and even the meanest in some shape or other may be serviceable to the public) by any mark of honour bestowed upon them on that account. A recompense so cheap, and yet at the same time so

efficacious, and so productive of excellencies of all kinds, that they, who neglect to make use of it in the administration of a commonwealth, may well be supposed to have no sense of it themselves; to know little of the true arts and ends of government, and not to deserve to be intrusted with it.

I shall conclude this article with a passage from Herodotus [12] who, in his history of the famous expedition of Xerxes against the Grecians, relates the following incident, which happened when that mighty king, attended by millions, was now far advanced into Greece.

'Some Arcadian fugitives, being in great want of provisions, came to offer their services to the king, and being admitted into his presence, were interrogated by the Persians, and particularly by one person; who, among other questions, asked them, What the Grecians were then doing? to which they answered, That the Greeks were at that time celebrating the Olympic festival, and exhibiting a spectacle of gymnastic and equestrian Games. Being again asked, What was the prize for which the several antagonists contended? they replied, A chaplet of wild olive. Upon which Tigranes, the son of Artabanus, broke out into an exclamation, which, though interpreted by the king as the effect of cowardice, was certainly an indication of a brave and generous mind. For hearing that the prize contended for by the Grecians was a chaplet, and not any pecuniary reward, he could no longer keep silence, but in the

[12] Lib. viii. c. 25.

hearing of all the Persians, said, Alas, Mardonius! against what kind of men have you led us here to fight! men, who engage in a contest with each other, not for gold and silver, but only for a superiority of virtue and glory!'

Another great motive to virtuous and noble actions, suggested to the candidates for the Olympic olive, and through them recommended to all the Grecians, was a due regard to the reputation of their families and countries. This was intimated by the custom of joining to the name of the candidate, both before the contest and after the victory, the name of his father, together with that of the city or country where he was born, or to which he at that time belonged. By which custom the close union and connection, which nature and reason had made between a son and father, a citizen and the state, was, as it were, ratified and declared by the authority and voice of the public; and every man was taught to consider himself not as a single and independent individual, but as making part of a family and society; to whom, as participating in some measure of his glory or disgrace, he was accountable for his good or bad demeanour. That the consideration just mentioned is capable of operating very powerfully, both in restraining men from infamous actions, and exciting them to good, needs not here be proved. The force of it is felt and understood by all, and frequently urged as a topic either of encouragement or dehortation, even in common and ordinary life; in which, if it is of any efficacy, as it often is, it ought surely to affect, in a much stronger manner, all persons of a noble and illustrious paren-

tage, and all the members of any city, society, or kingdom, that make a considerable figure in the eyes of mankind, especially on great and public occasions: as in a battle, for instance, in which every individual ought to remember, that the honour of his country, as well as his own in particular, that of his family, or of the corps to which he belongs, is interested in his behaviour: the glory of a victory, and the disgrace of a defeat, being generally placed to the account of the whole nation; and the valour or cowardice of a people too often measured by that of their troops, who in those cases are looked upon as their representatives.

There is also another circumstance, in which a single man, though not acting in any public character, may yet have it in his power to do honour or discredit to his country: and this is the circumstance of a man travelling into foreign nations; where, though himself and his family may happen both to be equally unknown, his country may not. In this case he will be considered only in a national light, if I may so speak; and a general character of his countrymen will be formed, from the specimen he is supposed to give of it in his particular manners and behaviour. In this situation many of the candidates, those especially who came from remote Grecian colonies settled in Asia, Africa, Macedonia, Sicily, &c. must in some sort have appeared in the Olympic stadium; which may be looked upon as a kind of public theatre, where every private Grecian might have an opportunity of producing and signalizing himself, and his own particular city, town, and family, in

the presence of all Greece. From whence, though neither of them should have gained any other immediate advantage, besides that of being drawn out of obscurity, and made known to the rest of their brethren, yet a foundation was here laid for many more; a spirit of emulation, a sense of glory, and a zeal for the honour of the public, which is always increased by every new accession of reputation acquired to it, was infused into all the members of the community: who rejoicing with their fellow-citizen on these occasions, and bestowing upon him public marks of distinction, both felt and acknowledged at the same time, that the glory of any one member redounded to the credit of the whole body; and were thereby taught insensibly to regard, in all their actions, the dignity and service of the state. A principle, to which, in conjunction with the love of glory, spoken of in the foregoing article, may principally be ascribed all the virtue, valour, wisdom, with many excellencies of an inferior kind, which adorn and dignify the Greek and Roman name. By both which people, but more generally by the former, were these two great principles, so fruitful in merit of all sorts, cultivated with the utmost diligence and care, and by many various methods disseminated throughout all orders and professions of men.

Concord and union among themselves was also plainly insinuated, and strongly recommended to all the different people of Greece, by another law of the Olympic Games; that, I mean, by which all, who were not of Greek extraction, were excluded from contending in them. By this law

they were reminded of their being brethren, and incorporated as it were into one nation, under one common name. Had due attention been paid to this wise and politic ordinance, under the sanction of which they were invited to meet together every fifth year, in order to join in sacrificing to one and the same deity, the common father and protector of the whole Grecian name; and in celebrating Games, in which all Grecians, and only Grecians, were equally admitted to contend, for a crown equally reverenced by them all: to this ordinance, I say, which may be considered as a sacred band of union, had due attention been paid by the several states into which the Grecians were distributed, they need not have dreaded either the Roman commonwealth or the Persian monarchy: the latter of which was checked and humbled more than once, and at length entirely subdued, by no very considerable part of the Grecian body; and the former prevailed over them more by means of the intestine feuds and divisions, which had for many ages weakened and disjointed the forces of Greece, than from their own intrinsic strength, or from any superiority either in valour or in military skill, which the Romans possessed over their Grecian antagonists. But what avail the most salutary laws, or the best framed systems of government, without a sufficient authority to enforce the execution of the one, and to keep together the several parts of the other, to give each its proper motion, and to make them all concur in one operation, and mutually unite their forces to strengthen and support the common cause? This was always wanting to the Greeks,

who never but once, as I can remember, acted in concert under the direction of a single person; and that was in their very early times, when they lived not in commonwealths, but under limited monarchies; I mean in their expedition against the city of Troy, under Agamemnon, who seems to have been invested with no other powers but such as were barely necessary for the general of an army; and to have been raised to that authority, chiefly on account of his being principally concerned in a war undertaken solely to revenge an injury done to his family in the person of his brother Menelaus. In the Persian war indeed, the chief command both by land and sea was yielded to the Lacedæmonians, whose pretensions to it were founded more upon their own pride, and submitted to rather from the pressing necessity of the times, than the strength and greatness of their republic. The Athenians, who had as good, and perhaps a better claim to it, acquiesced for that time under the superiority thus allowed to Sparta; and to this they were induced, by a generous concern for the common liberty of Greece, for which, to do them justice, they always showed a more disinterested regard than their rivals the Lacedæmonians; and upon that occasion contributed more to preserve it. But no sooner were the Persians driven out of Greece, and Athens a little recovered from the ruinous condition to which that war had reduced her, than almost all the little states of Greece, properly so called, fell into a civil war, occasioned by a dispute between those two powerful republics for dominion and sovereignty; which, had it been originally

lodged in either, or in one single person, and limited by just and equal laws, might not only have guarded the liberties of Greece against any foreign invader, but even have extended their empire farther than it was carried by the arms of Alexander the Great. By such an authority, at least, all the intestine feuds and civil wars might have been prevented, which so miserably harassed the Grecians all the time that they continued to enjoy, under their favourite democratical governments, the beloved liberty of every state (I had almost said, every man) consulting its own separate and particular interest, to the neglect, and indeed to the final destruction, of the general prosperity and freedom of the whole Greek body.

In such a state of civil hostility and confusion were the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus, when Iphitus king of Elis, supported by the authority of the Delphic oracle, instituted the Olympic Games: to which inviting them all, under the common appellation of Grecians, he required them to suspend their animosities; and, by the express commands of the aforesaid oracle, proclaimed a cessation of arms among all those states who were then at war with each other. As by comprehending all, who were admitted to partake in this solemnity, under the common denomination of Grecians, he plainly intimated to them that they were brethren, so did he oblige them to meet together as such, by compelling them, under the penalty of being fined, and excluded from sacrificing to Olympian Jupiter, to forbear all acts of hostility during the celebration of that holy festival, and for some time before and after; thus like a true

hellanodic, or judge and arbiter of Greece, as the word imports, summoning them, as it were, before his tribunal, to end all their quarrels by the amicable method of mediation. For it was with the view of constituting the Eleans mediators of Greece, that they were commanded to abstain from war, as we may learn from the following passage of Phlegon: 'The Eleans after this [*i. e.* after the establishment of the Olympic festival] being inclined to assist the Lacedæmonians, who were then laying siege to Elis, sent to Delphi to know the pleasure of the god; who by his priestess answered them in these words: Defend your own country if attacked, but refrain from war, being yourselves the examples and arbiters of amity and concord to all the Grecians, till the return of the fifth [or Olympic] year, which brings peace with it. In obedience to this oracle, the Eleans abstained wholly from war, and gave themselves up to the superintendency of the Olympic Games.'

Considering the divided condition of the Greeks, and their aptness to quarrel with each other, one may easily conceive the great advantage arising from their having one nation among them thus set apart, and consecrated, as it were, to the office of a mediator, by being forbidden to intermeddle in any of their broils, or to molest their neighbours; and being themselves sheltered from all invasions as a holy people, under the protection of the king and father of gods and men, as he was styled by the Greeks. Who was the real author of so wise an institution, and how much honour was due to him on that account, the Eleans have plainly intimated by an emblematical figure of a

woman, named *Ecechiria* (a Greek word signifying an armistice, or truce) crowning the statue of Iphitus, erected by them in the very temple of Olympian Jupiter, as I have before observed. To this mediatorial tribunal, thus appointed and protected by the gods, the Grecians might have had recourse, whenever they were inclined to terminate their quarrels in an amicable manner. But upon the return of the Olympic festival, they were all equally obliged, however deeply engaged in war with each other, and how averse soever to peace, to suspend their enmity, and meet together at Olympia; where, besides the dignity and authority of the mediator, every thing tended to conciliate their minds to each other, and introduce amity and concord between the contending parties. The place itself was sacred to peace; the solemnity was founded in religion; and in the Games (in which all, who were entitled to the denomination of Grecians, were equally admitted to contend, whether friends or foes, and from which all rancour and malice in the combatants was excluded, under severe penalties)—in the Games, I say, was exhibited a spectacle in itself highly amusing and entertaining, and attended moreover with a perpetual succession of banquets, and all other accompaniments of festivity and joy. And as the several parts of this great institution drew to Olympia an infinite multitude of people from all parts, so did that numerous assembly invite thither the men of the greatest eminency in all the arts of peace; such as historians, orators, philosophers, poets, and painters; who perceiving that the most compendious way to fame lay through

Olympia, were there induced to exhibit their bes performances, at the time of the celebration o the Olympic Games. To this assembly Hero dotus[13] read his history; to this assembly Aëion, a celebrated painter, showed his famous picture o the marriage of Alexander and Roxana; and fo this assembly Hippias the Elean, a sophist, Prodi cus the Cean, Anaximenes the Chian, Polus o Agrigentum, and many other sophists, historians and orator , composed discourses and harangues and thither Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, sen a poem of his own writing to be recited publicly by persons hired for that purpose. From whence, says Lucian[14], they reaped the advantage of gaining at once the general suffrages of all Greece; every state having its representative, as it were, in that numerous and solemn convention, and all who assisted on these occasions carrying with them to their respective countries the name and reputation of that person, to whose glory the common seal of Greece, if I may so speak, had already been set at Olympia. By the pleasure arising from these works of peace, and the applauses bestowed upon them, the minds of men were insensibly softened and diverted from the thoughts of war. Besides, in so numerous an assembly of the most considerable persons of Greece, there never could be wanting some patriots of ability and authority to interpose their friendly offices, and incline the contending parties to listen to an accommodation: as was once done by Gorgias, a celebrated rhetorician, who, having composed an ad-

[13] Lucian in Herodoto. [14] Ibid.

mirable treatise upon the subject of concord, read it publicly at Olympia to all the Grecians, who were at that time quarrelling among themselves.

But besides the religious solemnity, and the gymnastic and equestrian Games, Iphitus also instituted a fair[15], to be held at Olympia at the same time; with a view, doubtless, of uniting the several people of Greece still closer to each other, in a friendly intercourse of mutual commerce, which can only flourish in times of peace; and which, by the many advantages it brings along with it, as well to the public as to the particular persons engaged in the various branches of trade, naturally tends to call off the attention of mankind from war and violence, and, what perhaps is still worse, the stupid and lazy indolence of an uncivilized and savage life, to the more pleasing methods of polishing and enriching themselves and their countries, by cultivating all the useful arts of civil and social industry.

When the Grecians happened to be free from these intestine distractions, to which they were too much subject, their meeting together at Olympia every fifth year was highly beneficial to them upon other accounts. For as they were, by their various settlements on the coasts of Asia, and Africa, and in Europe, dispersed and scattered into very distant parts of the world, they had, at the return of the Olympic festival, an opportunity of acquainting themselves exactly with each other's strength and condition, by means either of the candidates, who came from all parts to contend for

[15] Velleius Paterc. lib. v.

the Olympic olive, or of the deputies sent by every Grecian city with victims and offerings to Olympian Jupiter. By the same means also they might receive information of any danger, which seemed to threaten the whole community of Greece, or those of their brethren who were settled on the frontiers, and exposed to the attacks of their common and perpetual foes; whom, as well for distinction sake as out of hatred and contempt, they styled barbarians. Against these, that is indeed against all the nations that surrounded them, and especially the Persian, their nearest and most formidable enemy, it behoved them to be constantly on their guard, as all the Greek inhabitants of Asia, whose number was very considerable, were in continual and immediate danger of being swallowed up by that mighty empire; and with their safety that of their European brethren was so closely connected, that if the banks which kept the great Persian ocean within its bounds, should happen, for want of their concurrence to strengthen and support them, to be once broken down, it was to be feared the inundation would soon extend to Greece itself, properly so called; as they once experienced, to the great hazard of the total destruction of the whole Grecian name. As their meeting, therefore, at Olympia, furnished them with an opportunity of knowing their own strength and condition, as well as the forces and preparations of their common enemies, so were they enabled by the same means to provide in the most effectual manner for the general security, by deliberating and consulting on the state of the public, strengthening the union among themselves, and

mutually exhorting and encouraging each other, to guard and maintain their common liberties, and in every case to proportion the defence to the danger that threatened either the whole, or any part of the whole community of Greece. Here too any particular state of Greece, that was oppressed by a powerful faction of her own citizens, or by the invasion of a sister state, might make her complaints, and plead her cause before the rest of her brethren, by whose interposition she might be relieved from a grievance, which her single strength was not sufficient to redress.

As Olympia, from the causes before assigned, grew to be a place of general resort, Greece derived from thence some other advantages, which probably were not at first foreseen: for in process of time Olympia became a kind of public repository of historical monuments; in which were kept, engraven upon marble columns, many solemn treaties made between particular states of Greece, and there recorded as lasting witnesses against those who should infringe them: many memorials of singular and remarkable events, as well as of great and illustrious actions, were there exhibited in trophies, votive statues, and other rich donations, estimated at the tenth part of the value of the spoils, and sometimes even part of the spoils themselves taken from the enemy, consecrated chiefly to Olympian Jupiter, and accompanied with inscriptions, in which the several events that gave occasion to them were specified, and the names of the particular states, and principal persons concerned, were delivered down to posterity. In Olympia also, as in the chief seat and residence of

fame, if I may so speak, were erected statues in honour of many eminent and illustrious men; of most of which the reader may find a particular account in the fifth and sixth books of Pausanias, to which I refer him, as it would be too tedious to enumerate them in this place. By these public monuments every Grecian, who resorted to Olympia, was instructed in many great points of history, relating as well to his own particular country as to Greece in general; reminded of the glorious exploits of his ancestors and countrymen, and excited to imitate their virtues, in hopes of acquiring one day the like honour to himself and his country. And by these even foreigners were induced to entertain a very high opinion of a people, among whom they found so many instances of merit of every kind, and so generous and general a disposition to preserve the memory and lustre of worthy men, to serve as examples and encouragements to after-ages.

These were some of the principal advantages (for I do not pretend to have considered all) accruing to Greece from the institution of the Olympic Games; which, though they were for above a thousand years so highly reverenced by the Grecians, and are so frequently alluded to by all the Greek, and by many Roman authors, are yet but imperfectly known even to men of learning; and have never, that I know of, been placed in the light in which I have considered them. A light, by which, I flatter myself, they will now appear to have been established upon great political views; to have had a considerable influence upon the manners and morals of Greeks, and consequently to

deserve the notice of all those, who, for the sake of knowledge and improvement, read the writings and history of that great people, so abounding in philosophers and legislators.

The other three sacred Games, namely, the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean, were of the same kind, and consisted of the same kind of exercises; to which were added, in the Pythian Games, and perhaps in the others, poetical and musical contests; and in them, as also at Olympia, even heralds or cryers, and trumpeters, were admitted to contend with each other, though I cannot find that these last-mentioned contests were exhibited in the *stadium;* at least not at Olympia, where there was a place appropriated to them, and where it seems to me that the conquerors did not receive a crown; for which reason I did not think proper to mention them before.

From what has been said of the utility of the Olympic Games, we may draw this general inference:

That even the sports and diversions of a people may be turned to the advantage of the public. Or rather,

That a wise and prudent governor of a state may dispose the people to such sports and diversions, as may render them more serviceable to the public: and that by impartially bestowing a few honorary prizes upon those, who should be found to excel in any contest he shall think proper to appoint, he may excite in the husbandman, the manufacturer, and the mechanic, as well as in the soldier, and the sailor, and men of superior orders and professions, such an emulation, as may tend to pro-

mote industry, encourage trade, improve the knowledge and wisdom of mankind, and consequently make his country victorious in war, and in peace opulent, virtuous, and happy.

END OF VOL. I.

Whittingham and Rowland, *Printers*, Goswell Street, London.

PINDAR

I pass the death his cruel fate decreed
When Jove's eternal stalls receiv'd th'immortal steed

Ode III. Epode 4.

Drawn by Rac.d Cooke.

Engraved Aiviba

ODES

OF

PINDAR,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK,

WITH

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY

G. WEST, R. B. GREENE,

AND

H. J. PYE, ESQ^RS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A DISSERTATION

ON THE

OLYMPIC GAMES,

BY THE FORMER.

VOL. II.

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CONTENTS.

	Page
Mr. West's Preface	1
The first Olympic Ode	17
Second	31
Third	44
Fourth	50
Fifth	54
Sixth	61
Seventh	72
Eighth	87
Ninth	95
Tenth	110
Eleventh	118
Twelfth	121
Thirteenth	126
Fourteenth	137
The first Pythian Ode	142
The first Nemean Ode	161
The eleventh Nemean Ode	172
The second Isthmian Ode	179

MR. WEST'S PREFACE.

Of all the great writers of antiquity, no one was ever more honoured and admired while living, as few have obtained a larger and fairer portion of fame after death, than Pindar. Pausanias tells us, that the character of poet was really and truly consecrated in his person, by the god of poets himself [1], who was pleased by an express oracle, to order the inhabitants of Delphi to set apart for Pindar one half of the first-fruit offerings brought by the religious to his shrine; and to allow him a place in his temple; where, in an iron chair, he was used to sit, and sing his hymns in honour of that god. This chair was remaining in the time of Pausanias [2], (several hundred years after) to whom it was shown as a relict not unworthy of the sanctity and magnificence of that holy place. Pan [3] likewise, another musical divinity, is reported to have skipped and jumped for joy, while the nymphs were dancing in honour of the birth of this prince of lyric poetry; and to have been afterwards so

[1] Paus. in Bœot. [2] Paus. in Phoc.
[3] Philostratus in Icon.

much delighted with his compositions, as to have sung his Odes in the hearing even of the poet himself[4]. Unhappily for us, and indeed for Pindar, those parts of his works which procured him these extraordinary testimonies from the gods (or from mortals rather, who by the invention of these fables meant only to express the high opinion they entertained of this great poet) are all lost: I mean his hymns to the several deities of the heathen world. And even of those writings, to which his less extravagant, but more serious and more lasting glory is owing, only the least, and (according to some people) the worst, part is now remaining. These are his Odes, inscribed to the conquerors in the four sacred games of Greece. By these odes therefore are we now left to judge of the merit of Pindar; as they are the only living evidences of his character.

Among the moderns[5], those men of learning of the truest taste and judgment, who have read and considered the writings of this author in their original language, have all agreed to confirm the great character given of him by the ancients. And to such who are still able to examine Pindar himself, I shall leave him to stand or fall by his own merit; only bespeaking their candour in my own behalf, if they shall think it worth their while to peruse the following translations of some of his Odes: which I here offer chiefly to the English

[4] Plut. in Numa.

[5] See Abbé Fraguier's character of Pindar, printed in the third vol. of Memoires de l'Academie Royale, &c. and Kennet's life of Pindar, in the lives of the Greek Poets.

reader, to whom alone I desire to address a few considerations, in order to prepare him to form a right judgment, and indeed to have any relish of the compositions of this great lyric poet, who notwithstanding must needs appear before him under great disadvantages.

To begin with removing some prejudices against this author, that have arisen from certain writings known by the name of Pindaric Odes, I must insist that very few, which I remember to have read under that title, (not excepting even those written by the admired Mr. Cowley, whose wit and fire first brought them into reputation), have the least resemblance to the manner of the author whom they pretend to imitate, and from whom they derive their name; or if any, it is such a resemblance only as is expressed by the Italian word *caricatura*, a monstrous and distorted likeness. This observation has been already made by Mr. Congreve, in his preface to two admirable Odes, written professedly in imitation of Pindar; and I may add, so much in his true manner and spirit, that he ought by all means to be excepted out of the number of those, who have brought this author into discredit by pretending to resemble him.

Neither has Mr. Cowley, though he drew from the life, given a much truer picture of Pindar in the translations he made of two of his Odes. I say not this to detract from Mr. Cowley, whose genius, perhaps, was not inferior to that of Pindar himself, or either of those other two great poets, Horace and Virgil, whose names have been bestowed upon him, but chiefly to apologize for my having ventured to translate the same Odes; and to

prepare the reader for the wide difference he will find between many parts of his translations and mine.

Mr. Cowley and his imitators (for all the Pindaric writers since his time have only mimicked him, while they fancied they were imitating Pindar) have fallen themselves, and by their examples have led the world, into two mistakes with regard to the character of Pindar: both which are pointed out by Mr. Congreve in the preface above mentioned, and in the following words:

'The character of these late Pindarics is a bundle of rambling incoherent thoughts, expressed in a like parcel of irregular stanzas, which also consist of such another complication of disproportioned, uncertain, and perplexed verses and rhymes. And I appeal to any reader, if this is not the condition in which these titular Odes appeared.

'On the contrary, (adds he) there is nothing more regular than the Odes of Pindar, both as to the exact observation of the measures and numbers of his stanzas and verses, and the perpetual coherence of his thoughts. For though his digressions are frequent, and his transitions sudden; yet is there ever some secret connection, which, though not always appearing to the eye, never fails to communicate itself to the understanding of the reader.'

Upon these two points, namely, the regularity of measure in Pindar's Odes, and the connection of his thoughts, I shall beg leave to make a few observations.

These Odes were all composed to be sung by a Chorus, either at the entertainments given by the conquerors (to whom they were inscribed) or their

friends, on account of their victories; or at the solemn sacrifices made to the gods upon those occasions. They consist generally of three stanzas, of which the following account was communicated to me by a learned and ingenious friend.

'Besides what is said of the Greek Ode in the scholiast upon Pindar, I find (says he) the following passage in the scholia on Hephæstion; it is the very last paragraph of those scholia.'

The passage cited by him is in Greek, instead of which I shall insert the translation of it in English.

"You must know that the ancients (in their Odes) framed two larger stanzas, and one less; the first of the larger stanzas they called *strophe*, singing it on their festivals at the altars of the gods, and dancing at the same time: the second they called *antistrophe*, in which they inverted the dance. The lesser stanza was named the *epode*, which they sung standing still. The strophe (as they say) denoted the motion of the higher sphere, the antistrophe that of the planets, the epode the fixed station and repose of the earth."

'From this passage it appears evident that these Odes were accompanied with dancing; and that they danced one way while the strophe was singing, and then danced back again while the antistrophe was sung: which shows why those two parts consisted of the same length and measure. Then, when the dancers were returned to the place whence they set out, before they renewed the dance, they stood still while the epode was sung.

'If the same persons both danced and sung, when we consider how much breath is required for a full song, perhaps one may incline to think,

that the strophe and antistrophe partook something of the recitative manner, and that the epode was the more complete air.

'There is a passage in the ancient grammarian, Marius Victorinus, which is much to the same purpose as this above, though he does not distinctly speak of dancing. The passage is this:

"Pleraque lyricorum carminum, quæ versu, colisque et commatibus componuntur, ex strophe, antistrophe, et epodo, ut Græci appellant, ordinata subsistunt. Quorum ratio talis est. Antiqui deorum laudes carminibus comprehensas, circum aras eorum euntes canebant. Cujus primum ambitum, quem ingrediebantur ex parte dextrâ, strophen vocabant; reversionem autem sinistrorsum factam, completo priore orbe, antistrophen appellabant. Deinde in conspectu deorum soliti consistere, cantici reliquum consequebantur, appellantes id Epodon."

'The writers I have quoted speak only of Odes, sung in the temples; but Demetrius Triclinius, upon the measures of Sophocles, says the same thing upon the odes of the tragic chorus.

'What the scholiast upon Hephæstion (cited above) adds about the heavenly motions, &c. is also said by Victorinus, and by Demetrius Triclinius, and likewise by the scholiast on Pindar. Yet I consider this in no other light, than I do the fantastical conceits with which the writers on music abound. Ptolemy, out of his three books of harmonics, employs one almost entirely upon comparing the principles of music with the motions of the planets, the faculties of the mind, and other such ridiculous imaginations. And Aristides Quinti-

lianus, supposed an older author, is full of the same fooleries. Marius Victorinus has another scheme also, *viz.* that the dancing forwards and backwards was invented by Theseus, in memory of the labyrinth out of which he escaped. But all this is taking much unnecessary pains to account why, when dancers have gone as far as they can one way, they should return back again; or at least not dance in the same circle, till they are giddy.'

Such was the structure of the Greek Ode, in which the strophe and antistrophe, *i. e.* the first and second stanzas, contained always the same number and the same kind of verses. The epode was of a different length and measure; and if the Ode run out into any length, it was always divided into triplets of stanzas; the two first being constantly of the same length and measure, and all the epodes in like manner corresponding exactly with each other: from all which the regularity of this kind of composition is sufficiently evident. There are indeed some Odes, which consist of strophes, and antistrophes, without any epode; and others which are made up of strophes only, of different lengths and measures. But the greatest number of Pindar's Odes are of the first kind.

I have in the translation retained the names of *strophe* and *antistrophe*, on purpose to imprint the more strongly on the mind of the English reader, the exact regularity observed by Pindar in the structure of his Odes: and have even followed his example in one, which in the original consists only of two strophes.

Another charge against Pindar relates to the supposed wildness of his imagination, his extrava-

gant digressions, and sudden transitions, which leads me to consider the second point, viz. the connection of his thoughts. Upon which I shall say but little in this place, having endeavoured to point out the connection, and account for many of the digressions, in my arguments and notes to the several Odes which I have translated. Here therefore I shall only observe in general, that whoever imagines the victories and praises of the conquerors are the proper subjects of the Odes inscribed to them, will find himself mistaken. These victories indeed gave occasion to these songs of triumph, and are therefore constantly taken notice of by the poet, as are also any particular and remarkable circumstances relating to them, or to the lives and characters of the conquerors themselves: but as such circumstances could rarely furnish out matter sufficient for an Ode of any length, so would it have been an indecency unknown to the civil equality and freedom, as well as to the simplicity, of the age in which Pindar lived, to have filled a poem intended to be sung in public, and even at the altars of the gods, with the praises of one man only; who, besides, was often no otherwise considerable, but as the victory which gave occasion to the Ode had made him. For these reasons the poet, in order to give his poem its due extent, was obliged to have recourse to other circumstances, arising either from the family or country of the conqueror; from the games in which he had come off victorious; or from the particular deities who had any relation to the occasion, or in whose temples the Ode was intended to be sung. All these and many other particulars, which the reading the Odes of

Pindar may suggest to an attentive observer, gave hints to the poet, and led him into those frequent digressions, and quick transitions, which it is no wonder should appear to us at this distance of time and place both extravagant and unaccountable. Some of these are indicated in the notes upon the ensuing Odes.

Upon the whole, I am persuaded that whoever will consider the Odes of Pindar with regard to the manners and customs of the age in which they were written; the occasions which gave birth to them; and the places in which they were intended to be recited; will find little reason to censure Pindar for want of order and regularity in the plans of his compositions. On the contrary, perhaps, he will be inclined to admire him for raising so many beauties from such trivial hints; and for kindling, as he sometimes does, so great a flame from a single spark, and with so little fuel.

There is still another prejudice against Pindar, which may rise in the minds of those people who are not thoroughly acquainted with ancient history, and who may therefore be apt to think meanly of Odes inscribed to a set of conquerors, whom possibly they may look upon only as so many prize-fighters and jockeys. To obviate this prejudice, I have prefixed to my translation of Pindar's Odes, a Dissertation on the Olympic Games: in which the reader will see what kind of persons these conquerors were, and what was the nature of those famous games; of which every one, who has but just looked into the history of Greece, must know enough to desire to be better acquainted with them. The collection is as full as I have been able to make

it, assisted by the labours of a learned Frenchman, Pierre du Faur, who in his book, entitled 'Agonisticon,' hath gathered almost every thing that is mentioned in any of the Greek or Latin writers relating to the Grecian Games, which he has thrown together in no very clear order; as is observed by his countryman Mons. Burette, who hath written several pieces on the subject of the gymnastic exercises, inserted in the second volume of 'Memoires de l' Academie Royale,' &c. printed at Amsterdam, 1719. In this dissertation I have endeavoured to give a complete History of the Olympic Games; of which kind there is not, that I know of, any treatise now extant; those written upon this subject by some of the ancients being all lost, and not being supplied by any learned modern; at least, not so fully as might have been done, and as so considerable an article of the Grecian antiquities seemed to demand. As I flatter myself that even the learned reader will in this dissertation meet with many points which have hitherto escaped his notice, and much light reflected from thence upon the Odes of Pindar in particular, as well as upon many passages in other Greek writers; I shall rather desire him to excuse those errors and defects which he may happen to discover in it, than apologize for the length of it.

Having now removed the chief prejudices and objections which have been too long and too generally entertained against the writings of Pindar, I need say but little of his real character, as the principal parts of it may be collected from the very faults imputed to him; which are indeed no other than the excesses of great and acknowledged

beauties, such as a poetical imagination, a warm and enthusiastic genius, a bold and figurative expression, and a concise and sententious style. These are the characteristical beauties of Pindar; and to these his greatest blemishes, generally speaking, are so nearly allied, that they have sometimes been mistaken for each other. I cannot however help observing, that he is so entirely free from any thing like the far-fetched thoughts, the witty extravagancies, and puerile *concetti* of Mr. Cowley and the rest of his imitators, that I cannot recollect so much as even a single antithesis in all his Odes.

Longinus indeed confesses, that Pindar's flame is sometimes extinguished, and that he now and then sinks unexpectedly and unaccountably; but he prefers him, with all his faults, to a poet, who keeps on in one constant tenor of mediocrity; and who, though he seldom falls very low, yet never rises to those astonishing heights, which sometimes make the head even of a great poet giddy, and occasion those slips which they at the same time excuse.

But notwithstanding all that has or can be said in favour of Pindar, he must still appear, as I before observed, under great disadvantages; especially to the English reader. Much of this fire, which formerly warmed and dazzled all Greece, must necessarily be lost even in the best translation. Besides, to say nothing of many beauties peculiar to the Greek, which cannot be expressed in English, and perhaps not in any other language, there are in these Odes so many references to secret history, so many allusions to persons, things, and places, now altogether unknown; and which, were they known, would very little interest or affect the

reader; and withal, such a mixture of mythology and antiquity, that I almost despair of their being relished by any, but those who have, if not a great deal of classical learning, yet somewhat at least of an antique and classical taste.

Every reader, however, may still find in Pindar something to make amends for the loss of those beauties, which have been set at too great a distance, and in some places worn off and obliterated by time; namely, a great deal of good sense, many wise reflections, and many moral sentences, together with a due regard to religion; and from hence he may be able to form to himself some idea of Pindar as a man, though he should be obliged to take his character as a poet from others.

But that he may not for this rely altogether upon my opinion, I shall here produce the testimonies of two great poets, whose excellent writings are sufficient evidences both of their taste and judgment. The first was long and universally admired, and is still as much regretted by the present age: the latter, who wrote about seventeen hundred years ago, was the light and ornament of the politest and most learned age of Rome. And though even to him, Pindar, who lived some centures before him, must have appeared under some of the disadvantages above mentioned, yet he had the opportunity of seeing all his works, which were extant in his time, and of which he hath given a sort of catalogue, together with their several characters: an advantage which the former wanted, who must therefore be understood to speak only of those Odes which are now remaining. And indeed he alludes to those only, in the following pas-

sage of his Temple of Fame. Pope's works, small edit. vol. iii. p. 17.

Four swans sustain a car of silver bright [1],
With heads advanc'd, and pinions stretch'd for flight:
Here like some furious prophet Pindar rode,
And seem'd to labour with the' inspiring god:
Across the harp a careless hand he flings,
And boldly sinks into the sounding strings.
The figur'd games of Greece the column grace,
Neptune and Jove survey the rapid race:
The youths hang o'er their chariots as they run;
The fiery steeds seem starting from the stone;
The champions in distorted postures threat;
And all appear'd irregularly great.

The other passage is from Horace, lib. iv. ode 2, viz.

Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari, &c.

which, for the benefit of the English reader, I have thus translated.

He, who aspires to reach the towering height
Of matchless Pindar's heaven-ascending strain,
Shall sink, unequal to the arduous flight,
Like him, who falling nam'd the' Icarian main:
Presumptuous youth! to tempt forbidden skies!
And hope above the clouds on waxen plumes to rise!

Pindar, like some fierce torrent swoll'n with show'rs,
Or sudden cataracts of melting snow,
Which from the Alps its headlong deluge pours,
And foams and thunders o'er the vales below,

[6] *Four swans sustain, &c.*] Pindar, being seated in a chariot, alludes to the horse-races he celebrated in the Grecian Games. The swans are emblems of poetry: their soaring posture intimates the sublimity and activity of his genius. Neptune presided over the Isthmian, and Jupiter over the Olympian games. This note is of the same author.

With desultory fury borne along,
Rolls his impetuous, vast unfathomable song.

The Delphic laurel ever sure to gain ;
Whether with lawless Dithyrambic rage
Wild and tumultuous flows the sounding strain;
Or in more order'd verse sublimely sage
To gods and sons of gods his lyre he strings,
And of fierce Centaurs slain, and dire Chimera sings.

Or whether Pisa's victors be his theme,
The valiant champion and the rapid steed ;
Who from the banks of Alpheus' sacred stream,
Triumphant bear Olympia's olive meed;
And from their bard receive the tuneful boon,
Richer than sculptur'd brass, or imitating stone.

Or whether with the widow'd mourner's tear,
He mingles soft his Elegiac song ;
With Dorian strains to deck the' untimely bier
Of some disastrous bridegroom fair and young ;
Whose virtues, in his deifying lays,
Through the black gloom of death with starlike radiance blaze.

When to the clouds, along the' ethereal plain,
His airy way the Theban swan pursues,
Strong rapid gales his sounding plumes sustain :
While, wondering at his flight, my timorous Muse
In short excursions tires her feeble wings,
And in sequester'd shades and flowery gardens sings.

There, like the bee, that from each odorous bloom
Each fragrant offspring of the dewy field,
With painful art, extracts the rich perfume.
Solicitous her honied dome to build ;
Exerting all her industry and care,
She toils with humble sweets her meaner verse to rear.

The remainder of this Ode has no relation to the present subject, and is therefore omitted.

ODES

OF

PINDAR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

Olympiacæ miratus præmia palmæ.

VIRG. Geo. l. iii.

Dr. Warton's Ode, occasioned by reading Mr. West's translation of Pindar, is not reprinted here, as it will be found in the 'Cabinet Poets,' Part XXV.

THE

FIRST OLYMPIC ODE,

BY MR. WEST.

THIS Ode is inscribed to Hiero of Syracuse, who, in the seventy-third Olympiad, obtained the victory in the race of single horses.

ARGUMENT.

THE subject of this Ode being a victory obtained by Hiero in the Olympic games, Pindar sets out with showing the superiority and pre-eminence of those games over all others; among which, he says, they hold the same rank, as water (which, according to the opinion of Thales and other philosophers, was the original of all things) among the elements, and gold among the gifts of fortune. Wherefore, (continues he) O my heart! if thou art inclined to sing of games, it would be as absurd to think of any other but the Olympic games, as to look for stars in the sky, when the sun is shining in his meridian glory: especially as all the guests at Hiero's table (among which number it is not improbable that Pindar was one at this time) are singing Odes upon that subject. From the mention of Hiero, he falls into a short panegyric upon his virtues, and then passes to what gave occasion to this Ode, viz. his Olympic victory; under which head he makes honourable mention of his horse, Pherenicus, (for that was

his name) who gained the victory, and spread his master's glory as far as Pisa, or Olympia, the ancient residence of Pelops the son of Tantalus: into a long account of whom he digresses; and ridiculing, as absurd and impious, the story of his having been cut to pieces by his father Tantalus, boiled and served up at an entertainment given by him to the gods, relates another story, which he thought more to the honour both of Pelops and the gods. This relation he concludes with the account of Pelops vanquishing Œnomaus, king of Pisa, in the chariot race, and by that victory gaining his daughter Hippodamia, settling at Pisa, and being there honoured as a god. From this relation the poet falls again naturally into an account of the Olympic games, and after a short reflection upon the felicity of those who gained the Olympic crown, returns to the praises of Hiero; with which, and some occasional reflections on the prosperity of Hiero, to whom he wishes a continuance of his good fortune and a long reign, he closes his Ode.

STROPHE I.

CHIEF of nature's works divine,
  Water claims the highest praise:
Richest offspring of the mine,
  Gold, like fire, whose flashing rays,
From afar conspicuous, gleam
  Through the night's involving cloud,
First in lustre and esteem,
  Decks the treasures of the proud:
So among the lists of fame
  Pisa's honour'd games excel;
Then to Pisa's glorious name
  Tune, O muse, thy sounding shell!

ANTISTROPHE I.

Who along the desert air
  Seeks the faded starry train,
When the sun's meridian car
  Round illumes the' ethereal plain?
Who a nobler theme can choose
  Than Olympia's sacred games!
What more apt to fire the muse,
  When her various songs she frames?
Songs in strains of wisdom dress'd
  Great Saturnius to record,
And by each rejoicing guest
  Sung at Hiero's feastful board.

EPODE I.

In pastoral Sicilia's fruitful soil
  The righteous sceptre of imperial pow'r
Great Hiero wielding, with illustrious toil
  Plucks every blooming virtue's fairest flow'r,
    His royal splendour to adorn:
    Nor doth his skilful hand refuse
    Acquaintance with the tuneful muse,
When round the mirthful board the harp is borne [3].

[4] *When round the mirthful board, &c.* This, it seems, was a custom among the ancients: at their entertainments a harp was carried round the table, and presented to every guest, which if any one refused out of ignorance or unskilfulness, he was looked upon as illiterate or ill-bred.

STROPHE II.

Down then from the glittering nail
  Take, O muse, thy Dorian[2] lyre;
If the love of Pisa's vale[3]
  Pleasing transports can inspire,
Or the rapid-footed steed
  Could with joy thy bosom move,
When, unwhip'd, with native speed
  O'er the dusty course he drove!
And where, deck'd with olives, flows,
  Alpheus[4], thy immortal flood,
On his lord's triumphant brows
  The Olympic wreath bestow'd:

ANTISTROPHE II.

Hiero's royal brows, whose care
  Tends the courser's noble breed;
Pleas'd to nurse the pregnant mare,
  Pleas'd to train the youthful steed.

[2] The epithet Dorian is here given to the lyre, to signify that this Ode was adapted to the Dorian mood, the most solemn and pompous of the three kinds of Grecian music: the other two were the Lydian and Phrygian.

[3] *Pisa's vale.*] Pisa was a town in the territory of Elis, where the Olympic games were held; often confounded, especially by the poets, with Elis, though they were distant from each other about fifty stades. The name of Hiero's horse was Pherenicus.

[4] Alpheus was a river in Elis, upon whose banks the games were celebrated. The Olympic crown was composed of olive branches, of which plant there were large groves at Olympia. Alpheus was there worshipped as a god.

Now on that heroic land
His far-beaming glories beat,
Where with all his Lydian band
Pelops fix'd his honour'd seat:
Pelops[5], by the god belov'd,
Whose strong arms the globe embrace;
When by Jove's high orders mov'd
Clotho bless'd the healing vase.

EPODE II.

Forth from the caldron to new life restor'd,
Pleas'd with the lustre of his ivory arm,
Young Pelops rose; so ancient tales record,
And oft these tales unheeding mortals charm;
While gaudy fiction, deck'd with art,
And dress'd in every winning grace,
To truth's unornamented face
Preferr'd, seduces oft the human heart.

5 The fabulous story of Pelops is this: Tantalus, the father of Pelops, being in his turn to make a dinner for the gods, and having nothing fit to give them, killed his son Pelops, and after having cut him in pieces and boiled him, set his flesh upon the table; but Jupiter discovering the impious cheat, ordered Mercury to put the members again into the caldron, whence, by the power of the Fates, the hand-maids of Jupiter, Pelops came out alive again; but to supply the loss of his arm, (devoured it seems by Ceres or Thetis, who were more hungry, or less cunning than Jupiter,) the Fates bestowed upon him an arm of ivory. This story Pindar with justice ridicules, as reflecting upon the gods; though, perhaps, that which he substitutes in its place may be liable to the same objection. His moral however is very good. Clotho was one of the three destinies.

STROPHE III.

Add to these sweet poësy,
  Smooth enchantress of mankind!
Clad in whose false majesty
  Fables easy credit find.
But ere long the rolling year
  The deceitful tale explodes:
Then, O man! with holy fear
  Touch the characters of gods.
Of their heavenly nature say
  Nought unseemly, nought profane,
So shalt thou due honour pay,
  So be free from guilty stain.

ANTISTROPHE III.

Differing then from ancient fame,
  I thy story will record:
How the gods invited came
  To thy father's genial board;
In his turn the holy feast
  When on Sipylus [6] he spread;
To the tables of the bless'd
  In his turn with honour led.
Neptune then thy lovely face,
  Son of Tantalus, survey'd,
And with amorous embrace
  Far away the prize convey'd.

EPODE III.

To the high palace of all-honour'd Jove
  With Pelops swift the golden chariot rolls.
There, like more ancient Ganymede, above
  For Neptune he prepares the nectar'd bowls.

[6] Sipylus was a mountain, or, as some say, a town in Lydia.

But for her vanish'd son in vain
When long his tender mother sought,
And tidings of his fate were brought
By none of all her much-inquiring train;

STROPHE IV.

O'er the envious realm with speed
A malicious rumour flew,
That, his heavenly guests to feed,
Thee thy impious father slew:
In a caldron's seething flood
That thy mangled limbs were cast,
Thence by each voracious god
On the board in messes plac'd.
But shall I the bless'd abuse?
With such tales to stain her song
Far, far be it from my muse!
Vengeance waits the' unhallow'd tongue.

ANTISTROPHE IV.

Sure, if e'er to man befel
Honour from the powers divine,
Who on high Olympus dwell,
Tantalus, the lot was thine.
But, alas! his mortal sense
All too feeble to digest
The delights of bliss immense,
Sicken'd at the heavenly feast.
Whence, his folly to chastise,
O'er his head with pride elate,
Jove, great father of the skies,
Hung a rock's enormous weight [7].

[7] There are many other different accounts of the punishment and the crime of Tantalus, founded on no better authority than

EPODE IV.

Now vainly labouring with incessant pains
The' impending rock's expected fall to shun,
The fourth distressful instance he remains
Of wretched man by impious pride undone;
Who to his mortal guests convey'd
The' incorruptible food of gods,
On which in their divine abodes
Himself erst feasting was immortal made.

STROPHE V.

Vain is he, who hopes to cheat
The all-seeing eyes of heaven:
From Olympus' blissful seat,
For his father's theft, was driven,
Pelops, to reside once more
With frail man's swift-passing race.
Where (for now youth's blowing flow'r
Deck'd with opening pride his face;
And with manly beauty sprung
On each cheek the downy shade)
Ever burning for the young,
Hymen's fires his heart invade.

ANTISTROPHE V.

Anxious then the' Elean bride [8]
From her royal sire to gain,
Near the billow-beaten side
Of the foam-besilver'd main.

this, viz. the word of a poet; with which, for that reason, I shall not trouble the reader. The other three persons here alluded to, are Sisyphus, Tityus, and Ixion. There are other interpretations put upon this passage, which the learned may see in the Greek scholiast.

[8] Hippodamia, the daughter of Œnomaus king of Pisa, who

Darkling and alone he stood,
  Invocating oft the name
Of the trident-bearing god,
  Straight the trident-bearer came:
'If the sweet delights of love,
  Which from beauty's queen descend,
Can thy yielding bosom move,
  Mighty god, my cause befriend!

EPODE V.

'With strong prevention let thy hand control
  The brazen lance of Pisa's furious king;
And to the honours of the' Elean goal
  Me with unrival'd speed in triumph bring.
    Transfix'd by his unerring spear,
    Already thirteen youths have died,
    Yet he persists with cruel pride,
Hippodamia's nuptials to defer.

being extremely fond of his daughter (the most beautiful woman of her time) and therefore unwilling to part with her, obliged every one who sought her in marriage, to contend with him in the chariot race; in which he doubted not of obtaining the victory, as his horses were noted for strength and swiftness. The beauty of the lady encouraged many lovers, (thirteen, as Pindar says,) to enter the lists, notwithstanding the terrible consequences of their being vanquished; for Œnomaus, not contented with refusing his daughter to these unsuccessful lovers, killed them with his spear, when he overtook them in the race. Pelops however, depending on the aid of Neptune, the inventor, or creator rather, of horses, and encouraged by Hippodamia, (who, according to Apollodorus, rode with him in the chariot, and assisted him with her advice) accepted the conditions, and gained the victory; though, it seems, he was more indebted to the charioteer of Œnomaus, than to Neptune. The charioteer was bribed: and his master thrown out of the chariot, which broke down just as he had overtaken Pelops, and was going to transfix him with his spear.

STROPHE VI.

In the paths of dangerous fame
  Trembling cowards never tread:
Yet since all of mortal frame
  Must be number'd with the dead,
'Who in dark inglorious shade
  Would his useless life consume,
And with deedless years decay'd,
  Sink unhonour'd to the tomb?
I that shameful lot disdain;
  I this doubtful list will prove;
May my vows from thee obtain
  Conquest, and the prize of love.'

ANTISTROPHE VI.

Thus he pray'd, and mov'd the god;
  Who, his bold attempt to grace,
On the favour'd youth bestow'd
  Steeds unwearied in the race;
Steeds, with winged speed endued,
  Harness'd to a golden car.
So was Pisa's king subdued;
  Pelops so obtain'd the fair;
From whose womb, a noble brood,
  Six illustrious brothers came,
All with virtuous minds endow'd,
  Leaders all of mighty fame.

EPODE VI.

Now in the solemn service of the dead,
  Rank'd with immortal gods, great Pelops shares[9];
While to his altar, on the wat'ry bed
  Of Alpheus rais'd, from every clime repairs

9 Now in the solemn service of the dead,
  Rank'd with immortal gods, great Pelops shares;

The wondering stranger, to behold
The glories of the' Olympic plain;
Where, the resplendent wreath to gain,
Contend the swift, the active, and the bold.

STROPHE VII.

Happy he [10], whose glorious brow
Pisa's honour'd chaplets crown!
Calm his stream of life shall flow,
Shelter'd by his high renown.
That alone is bliss supreme,
Which, unknowing to decay,
Still with ever-shining beam
Gladdens each succeeding day.
Then for happy Hiero weave
Garlands of Æolian strains;
Him these honours to receive
The Olympic law ordains.

We learn from the younger scholiast of Pindar, that the young men of Peloponnesus were accustomed, upon the anniversary of the funeral of Pelops, to slash themselves with scourges; offering to him by that means a kind of libation of their own blood; to which custom Pindar is here supposed to allude. The old scholiast, however, seems to think that no more is signified here, than that Pelops died, was magnificently buried, and worshipped afterwards as a god. That he was worshipped by the Eleans with great devotion, we are told both by Pausanias and the scholiast; the last of whom informs us, that the people of Elis sacrificed to Pelops before Jupiter, alleging, for their so doing, the authority of Hercules.

[10] *Happy he, &c.*] Of the advantages accruing from an Olympic victory, I have spoken at large in the Dissertation; to which therefore I refer the reader.

ANTISTROPHE VII.

Nor more worthy of her lay
  Can the muse a mortal find;
Greater in imperial sway,
  Richer in a virtuous mind;
Heaven, O king, with tender care
  Waits thy wishes to fulfil.
Then ere long will I prepare,
  Plac'd on Chronium's sunny hill [11],
Thee in sweeter verse to praise,
  Following thy victorious steeds;
If to prosper all thy ways
  Still thy guardian god proceeds.

EPODE VII.

Fate hath in various stations rank'd mankind:
  In royal powers the long gradations end.
By that horizon prudently confin'd,
  Let not thy hopes to further views extend.
  Long may'st thou wear the regal crown,
  And may thy bard his wish receive,
    With thee, and such as thee to live [12],
Around his native Greece for wisdom known.

[11] This hill was near the Stadium at Olympia, so that from thence might be seen the races, &c.

[12] *With thee, and such as thee to live.*] As Pindar is said to have conversed with Hiero, I think we may, from these words, and some other expressions up and down this Ode, particularly from his calling Hiero Ξένον or host (l. 165 of the original) form no improbable conjecture, that Pindar was present at the entertainment given by Hiero on occasion of his Olympic victory. It is also probable from the 15th, 16th, and 17th lines of the original, that there were other poets present besides Pindar; perhaps Simonides and Bacchylides, who, as well as

our poet, composed a hymn upon this occasion. There is at least a fragment of an ode, made by Bacchylides, cited by the scholiast, in which this very horse of Hiero, named Pherenicus, is celebrated for having gained a victory in the Olympic games. These conjectures (for I would not put them off for any thing more than conjectures) will give some light to these two passages,

οἷα παίζομεν φίλαν
ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ
τράπεζαν.

and

——ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀ-
πὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλω
λάμβαν'.

When round the mirthful board the harp is borne;

and

Down then from the glittering nail
Take, O muse, thy Dorian lyre.

From which passages we may collect, that the guests of Hiero (and he among the rest, according to the custom mentioned in note the first) having either sung, or accompanied some ode, whose subject was taken, in all likelihood, from some circumstance relating to the Olympic games; and it being now come to Pindar's turn to perform; he, after praising in general terms the subject of their songs, (the Olympic games) the skill and wisdom of those who had performed before him, the magnificence and other royal virtues of Hiero, and particularly his knowledge and performance in music; calls, as it were in a poetical rapture, for his harp, (which we may suppose, agreeably to the custom of those times, hung in the chamber near him) and entertains the company with an ode on the founder of the Olympic games; which he, with many others, derives from Pelops the son of Tantalus, who is said to have celebrated them on the occasion of the funeral of Œnomaus. In this view there appears to be great propriety and beauty, not in the two above-cited passages only, but in many of the preceding verses also of this Ode; but this I submit to the judgment of the learned reader.

Hiero, in this Ode, is more than once styled king; and yet we are left in the dark as to the city or people over which he reigned at this time: all we know is, that it could not be the city of Syracuse, notwithstanding he chose to denominate himself of that city when he entered himself a candidate for the Olympic crown; for he did not come to the crown of Syracuse till after the death of his brother Gelo, which happened in the 75th Olympiad, many years after the date of the victory here celebrated by Pindar. See Pythian Ode I. note 5.

THE

SECOND OLYMPIC ODE,

BY MR. WEST.

THIS ode is inscribed to Theron king of Agrigentum, who came off conqueror in the race of chariots drawn by four horses, in the seventy-seventh Olympiad.

ARGUMENT.

THE poet, in answer to the question, what god, what hero, and what mortal he should sing? (with which words this Ode immediately begins) having named Jupiter and Hercules, not only as the first of gods and heroes, but as they were peculiarly related to his subject; the one being the protector, and the other the founder of the Olympic games; falls directly into the praises of Theron: by this method artfully insinuating, that Theron held the same rank among all mortals, as the two former did among the gods and heroes. In enumerating the many excellences of Theron, the poet, having made mention of the nobility of his family, (a topic seldom or never omitted by Pindar) takes occasion to lay before him the various accidents and vicissitudes of human life, by instances drawn from the history of his own ancestors, the founders of Agrigentum; who, it seems, underwent many difficulties before they could

build and settle themselves in that city: where afterwards, indeed, they made a very considerable figure, and were rewarded for their past sufferings with wealth and honour; according to which method of proceeding, the poet (alluding to some misfortunes that had befallen Theron) beseeches Jupiter to deal with their posterity, by recompensing their former afflictions with a series of peace and happiness for the future; in the enjoyment of which, they would soon lose the memory of whatever they had suffered in times past: the constant effect of prosperity being to make men forget their past adversity; which is the only reparation that can be made to them for the miseries they have undergone. The truth of this position he makes appear from the history of the same family; by the further instances of Semele, Ino, and Thersander; and, lastly, of Theron himself, whose former cares and troubles, he insinuates, are repaid by his present happiness and victory in the Olympic games: for his success in which, the poet however intimates, that Theron was no less indebted to his riches than to his virtue, since he was enabled by the one, as well as disposed by the other, to undergo the trouble and expense that was necessary to qualify him for a candidate for the Olympic crown in particular, and, in general, for the performance of any great and worthy action: for the words are general. From whence he takes occasion to tell him, that the man who possesses these treasures, viz. riches and virtue, (that is, the means and the inclination of doing good and great actions) has the further satisfaction of knowing, that he shall be rewarded for it hereafter; and go among the heroes into the Fortunate Islands (the Paradise of the ancients) which he here describes; some of whose inhabitants are likewise mentioned by way of inciting Theron to an imitation of their actions; as Peleus, Cadmus, and Achilles. Here the poet, finding himself, as well from the abundance of matter, as from the fertility of his own genius, in danger of wandering too far from his subject, recals his muse, and returns to the praises of Theron; whose beneficence and generosity (he tells us) were not to be equalled; with which, and with some reflections upon the enemies and maligners of Theron, he concludes.

STROPHE I.

Ye choral hymns, harmonious lays,
  Sweet rulers of the lyric string;
What god, what hero's godlike praise,
  What mortal shall we sing?
  With Jove, with Pisa's [1] guardian god,
  Begin, O muse, the' Olympic ode.
  Alcides, Jove's heroic son,
    The second honours claims;
Who, offering up the spoils from Augeas won,
Establish'd to his sire the' Olympic games;
Where bright in wreaths of conquest Theron shone.
    Then of victorious Theron sing!
  Of Theron hospitable, just, and great!
    Fam'd Agrigentum's [2] honour'd king,
  The prop and bulwark of her towering state;
  A righteous prince! whose flowering virtues grace
The venerable stem of his illustrious race:

[1] Pisa and Olympia have by many been mistaken for the same place; however, Olympia stood in the territory of Pisa, and not far distant from it.

[2] Agrigentum (in Greek Agragas) was a town in Sicily, situated upon a river of the same name, which I therefore call 'her kindred flood.' The poet, a little after, gives it the epithet of sacred; an epithet but ill accounted for, in my opinion, by the commentators upon this author; for which reason I shall not trouble the reader with what they say upon it, nor with the different histories they give of the ancestors of Theron, who built that city. The reader will understand from the poet himself, that they went through many difficulties, &c. which is sufficient: the same may be said with regard to Theron; the particulars of whose history are very imperfectly related.

ANTISTROPHE I.

A race, long exercis'd in woes,
Ere, smiling o'er her kindred flood,
The mansion of their wish'd repose,
Their sacred city stood;
And through amaz'd Sicilia shone
The lustre of their fair renown.
Thence, as the milder fates decreed,
In destin'd order born,
Auspicious hours with smoother pace succeed;
While power and wealth the noble line adorn,
And public favour, virtue's richest meed.
O son of Rhea[3], god supreme!
Whose kingly hands the Olympian sceptre wield!
Rever'd on Alpheus' sacred stream!
And honour'd most in Pisa's listed field!
Propitious listen to my soothing strain!
And to the worthy sons their father's rights maintain!

EPODE I.

Peace on their future life, and wealth bestow;
And bid their present moments calmly flow.
The deed once done no power can abrogate,
Not the great sire of all things, time, nor fate.
But sweet oblivion of disastrous care,
And good succeeding, may the wrong repair.
Lost in the brightness of returning day,
The gloomy terrors of the night decay;
When Jove commands the sun of joy to rise,
And opens into smiles the cloud-envelop'd skies.

[3] Rhea was the wife of Saturn, and mother of Jupiter. Alpheus was a river of Elis, upon whose banks was the Olympic Stadium, in which the games were performed.

STROPHE II.

Thy hapless daughters' [4] various fate
This moral truth, O Cadmus, shows;
Who, vested now with godlike state,
On heavenly thrones repose;

[4] Theron was descended from Cadmus; the instances therefore of Semele and Ino, daughters to Cadmus, are extremely proper and well chosen by the poet; as they tend not only to illustrate the truth he would inculcate by these examples, but to do honour to Theron, by showing that he was related to deities.

The story of these goddesses is as follows. Juno, having discovered that her husband Jupiter was in love with Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, disguised herself in the shape of an old woman, and under that appearance prevailed with the young lady (not a little proud of so great a lover) to insist upon his granting her request, whatever it should be; as giving her at once an undeniable evidence, both of his divinity and his love. Having obtained that promise, she was to require him, in the next place, to visit her with all those emblems and appurtenances of divine majesty, wherewith he was wont to go to the bed of Juno. The first part of her petition being obtained, the second, it seems, could not be refused; to the great grief of Jupiter, who was thus ensnared, by the artifices of Juno, by his own fondness, and the vanity and curiosity of Semele, to destroy his mistress. He came attended with his thunders and his lightnings, in whose flames poor Semele perished. Jupiter however did all he could to repair the fatal error; for he not only saved the life of her young infant Bacchus, but bestowed both upon him and her celestial honours and immortal life. The scholiast tells us, that Semele was always painted with remarkably long hair; a circumstance which I mention only for the sake of observing, that I doubt not but many expressions, and perhaps whole passages in Pindar, which to us appear either impertinent or obscure, were, at the time he wrote them, not only very intelligible, but very apposite and beautiful allusions to some custom, some history, some peculiarity in the life or person of those he mentions; or perhaps to some noted picture or statue; as in the present passage relating to Semele, and others

And yet affliction's thorny road
In bitter anguish once they trod.
But bliss superior hath eras'd
The memory of their woe;
While Semele, on high Olympus plac'd,
To heavenly zephyrs bids her tresses flow,
Once by devouring lightnings all defac'd.
There with immortal charms improv'd,
Inhabitant of heaven's serene abodes
She dwells, by virgin Pallas lov'd,
Lov'd by Saturnius, father of the gods;
Lov'd by her youthful son, whose brows divine,
In twisting ivy bound, with joy eternal shine.

ANTISTROPHE II.

To Ino, goddess of the main,
The Fates an equal lot decree,
Rank'd with old Ocean's Nereid-train,
Bright daughters of the sea.
Deep in the pearly realms below,
Immortal happiness to know.
But here our day's appointed end
To mortals is unknown;
Whether distress our period shall attend,
And in tumultuous storms our sun go down,
Or to the shades in peaceful calms descend.

that I shall take notice of in the course of these observations. Athamas, the husband of Ino, the other daughter of Cadmus, being, by the instigation likewise of Juno, struck by the Furies with madness; and having seized upon one of his children, which his wife, whom he then took for a lioness, held in her arms; she in a fright fled away with the other, and cast him and herself headlong into the sea, where Neptune, taking pity of her, converted them both into deities of the sea.

For various flows the tide of life,
Obnoxious still to fortune's veering gale;
Now rough with anguish, care, and strife,
O'erwhelming waves the shatter'd bark assail:
Now glide serene and smooth the limpid streams;
And on the surface play Apollo's golden beams.

EPODE II.

Thus, fate, O Theron, that with bliss divine
And glory once enrich'd thy ancient line,
Again reversing every gracious deed,
Woe to thy wretched sires and shame decreed;
What time, encountering on the Phocian plain,
By luckless Œdipus was Laius slain.
To parricide by fortune blindly led,
His father's precious life the hero shed;
Doom'd to fulfil the oracles of heaven, [given.
To Thebes' ill destin'd king[5] by Pythian Phœbus

[5] Laius king of Thebes, inquiring of the Delphic or Pythian Oracle about children, was told that he should have a son, but that he was destined to die by the hands of that son: for this reason, as soon as Œdipus was born, he gave him to a shepherd to be murdered; who, in execution of those orders, left him in the fields where he might be starved to death; but being found there by another shepherd, and by him presented to the wife of Polybus king of Corinth, she bred him up for her own child. But when he grew up, and came to understand that he was not the son of Polybus, he went in search of his own father, met him by accident in Phocis, and in a tumult slew him, without knowing him indeed to be his father; but not without incurring the displeasure of the gods by so horrid a parricide, though he was predestined to it by their own decree. Erinnys, the goddess of vengeance, observed the murder, (as the poet expresses it) and, to revenge it, stirred up that discord between his two sons Eteocles and Polynices, that they slew each other in battle.

STROPHE III.

But with a fierce avenging eye
Erinnys the foul murder view'd,
And bade his warring offspring die,
By mutual rage subdued.
Pierc'd by his brother's hateful steel
Thus haughty Polynices fell.
Thersander [6], born to calmer days,
Surviv'd his falling sire,
In youthful games to win immortal praise;
Renown in martial combats to acquire,
And high in power the' Adrastian house to raise.
Forth from this venerable root
Ænesidamus [7] and his Theron spring;
For whom I touch my Dorian flute,
For whom triumphant strike my sounding string.
Due to his glory is the' Aonian strain, [plain.
Whose virtue gain'd the prize in fam'd Olympia's

ANTISTROPHE III.

Alone in fam'd Olympia's sand
The victor's chaplet Theron wore;
But with him on the' Isthmian strand,
On sweet Castalia's shore,
The verdant crowns, the proud reward
Of victory his brother [8] shar'd,

[6] Thersander was the son of Polynices by Argia the daughter of Adrastus, whence mention is here made of the Adrastian house, which he is said to have raised, because he afterwards revenged upon the Thebans, the injuries and disgrace that his grandfather Adrastus had suffered before Thebes, when he came to the assistance of Polynices. Thersander was one of those heroes, who went to the war of Troy.

[7] Ænesidamus was the father of Theron.

[8] Xenocrates. The Isthmian games were celebrated at the

Copartner in immortal praise,
As warm'd with equal zeal
The light-foot courser's generous breed to raise,
And whirl around the goal the fervid wheel,
The painful strife Olympia's wreath repays:
But wealth with nobler virtue join'd
The means and fair occasions must procure;
In glory's chase must aid the mind,
Expense, and toil, and danger to endure;
With mingling rays they feed each other's flame,
And shine the brightest lamp in all the sphere of fame.

EPODE III.

The happy mortal, who these treasures shares,
Well knows what fate attends his generous cares;
Knows, that beyond the verge of life and light,
In the sad regions of infernal night,
The fierce, impracticable, churlish mind,
Avenging gods and penal woes shall find;
Where strict inquiring justice shall bewray
The crimes committed in the realms of day.
The' impartial judge the rigid law declares,
No more to be revers'd by penitence or prayers.

STROPHE IV.

But in the happy fields of light,
Where Phœbus with an equal ray
Illuminates the balmy night,
And gilds the cloudless day,

Isthmus of Corinth, whence they took their name; and the Pythian games were celebrated upon the banks of the river Castalia. The Isthmian crown was composed either of parsley, or the branches of the pine-tree (for they were both used at different times); and the Pythian crown was made of laurel.

In peaceful, unmolested joy,
The good their smiling hours employ.
Them no uneasy wants constrain
To vex the' ungrateful soil,
To tempt the dangers of the billowy main,
And break their strength with unabating toil,
A frail disastrous being to maintain.
But in their joyous calm abodes,
The recompense of justice they receive;
And in the fellowship of gods
Without a tear eternal ages live.
While, banish'd by the fates from joy and rest,
Intolerable woes the impious soul infest.

ANTISTROPHE IV.

But they who, in true virtue strong,
The third purgation can endure [9];
And keep their minds from fraudful wrong,
And guilt's contagion, pure;

9 Pindar in this follows the opinion of Pythagoras, who held the transmigration of the soul; according to which doctrine, the several bodies, into which the soul passes successively, were so many purgatories, that served to purify and refine it by degrees, till it was at last rendered fit to enter into the Fortunate Islands; the Paradise of the ancients, as I said before; about which nothing can be written but conjectures, with which it is not necessary to trouble the reader. The Greek words imply a state of probation in the other world as well as this; concerning which, therefore, and this doctrine of the transmigration of souls, the reader may consult the sixth book of Virgil; and the third book of Ælian's V. Hist. l. 18. for the history of these Fortunate Islands, as also the fourth book of the Odyssey, &c. I must observe, that Saturn and his wife Rhea, the progenitors of Jupiter, are (according to the heathen mythology) very properly made to preside in these islands; since, under their government upon earth, the world enjoyed that state of innocence, which the poets signify by 'the golden age.'

They through the starry paths of Jove
To Saturn's blissful seat remove:
Where fragrant breezes, vernal airs,
Sweet children of the main,
Purge the bless'd island from corroding cares,
And fan the bosom of each verdant plain:
Whose fertile soil immortal fruitage bears;
Trees, from whose flaming branches flow,
Array'd in golden bloom, refulgent beams;
And flowers of golden hue, that blow
On the fresh borders of their parent-streams.
These by the bless'd in solemn triumph worn,
Their unpolluted hands and clustering locks adorn.

EPODE IV.

Such is the righteous will, the high behest
Of Rhadamanthus, ruler of the bless'd;
The just assessor of the throne divine,
On which, high rais'd above all gods, recline,
Link'd in the golden bands of wedded love,
The great progenitors of thundering Jove.
There, in the number of the bless'd enroll'd,
Live Cadmus, Peleus, heroes fam'd of old;
And young Achilles, to those isles remov'd,
Soon as, by Thetis won, relenting Jove approv'd:

STROPHE V.

Achilles, whose resistless might
Troy's stable pillar overthrew,
The valiant Hector, firm in fight,
And hardy Cygnus, slew,
And Memnon, offspring of the morn,
In torrid Æthiopia born——

Yet in my well-stor'd breast remain
  Materials to supply
With copious argument my moral strain,
  Whose mystic sense the wise alone descry [10],
Still to the vulgar sounding harsh and vain.
    He only, in whose ample breast
Nature hath true inherent genius pour'd,
    The praise of wisdom may contest;
Not they who, with loquacious learning stor'd,
Like crows and chattering jays, with clamorous cries
Pursue the bird of Jove, that sails along the skies.

10 From this passage it is evident, that Pindar had fallen under the lash of some critics or rivals, who, proud of their learning, had objected to him the want of it, and had censured him, in all likelihood, for his frequent using of moral sentences, historical allusions, and figurative expressions; which, together with the many and long digressions, and the sudden transition from one point to another, (so observable in all his compositions) rendered them, as they pretended, intricate and obscure. All this charge Pindar, like a poet of spirit, answers with a thorough contempt of his adversaries; whom, notwithstanding all their boasted learning, he ranks with the vulgar: and, conscious of the superiority of genius over art, (which I suppose is here chiefly meant by learning) compares himself, with a noble arrogance, to an eagle sailing along the sky, and pursued by a parcel of crows and jays, who follow him at a distance with great noise and clamour, but can neither reach nor obstruct his flight: a proper image of the impotence and malice of critics and pedants in all times, though, it must be confessed, there are few poets to be found, that can answer the other part of the comparison. The scholiast tells us, that the learned persons hinted at by Pindar in this passage, were Bacchylides and Simonides.

ANTISTROPHE V.

Come on! thy brightest shafts prepare,
And bend, O muse, thy sounding bow;
Say through what paths of liquid air
Our arrows shall we throw?
On Agrigentum fix thine eye,
Thither let all thy quiver fly.
And thou, O Agrigentum, hear,
While with religious dread,
And taught the laws of justice to revere,
To heavenly vengeance I devote my head,
If aught to truth repugnant now I swear,
Swear, that no state, revolving o'er
The long memorials of recorded days,
Can show in all her boasted store
A name to parallel thy Theron's praise:
One to the acts of friendship so inclin'd,
So fam'd for bounteous deeds, and love of human [kind.

EPODE V.

Yet hath obstreperous envy sought to drown
The goodly music of his sweet renown;
While by some frantic spirit[11] borne along
To mad attempts of violence and wrong,
She turn'd against him faction's raging flood,
And strove with evil deeds to conquer good.
But who can number every sandy grain
Wash'd by Sicilia's hoarse-resounding main?
Or who can Theron's generous works express,
And tell how many hearts his bounteous virtues bless!

[11] By these 'frantic spirits,' the poet means Capys and Hippocrates, two kinsmen of Theron, from whom they had received many obligations; but not being able to endure the lustre of his glory and power, they made war upon him; and met with the due reward of their treachery and malice. Theron fought with them near Himera, and overthrew them.

THE

THIRD OLYMPIC ODE,

BY MR. WEST.

THIS Ode is likewise inscribed to Theron, king of Agrigentum, upon the occasion of another victory obtained by him in the chariot-race at Olympia; the date of which is unknown.

ARGUMENT.

THE scholiast acquaints us, that as Theron was celebrating the Theoxenia, (a festival instituted by Castor and Pollux in honour of all the gods) he received the news of a victory obtained by his chariot in the Olympic games: from this circumstance the poet takes occasion to address this Ode to those two deities and their sister Helena, in whose temple (the same scholiast informs us) some people with greatest probability conjectured it was sung; at a solemn sacrifice there offered by Theron to those deities, and to Hercules also, as may be inferred from a passage in the third strophe of the translation. But there is another, and a more poetical propriety in Pindar's invoking these divinities, that is suggested in the Ode itself: for, after mentioning the occasion of his composing it, namely, the Olympic victory of Theron, and saying that a triumphal song was a tribute due to that person, upon whom the Hellanodic, or judge of the games, bestowed the sacred olive, (according to the institu-

tion of their first founder Hercules) he proceeds to relate the fabulous, but legendary story, of that hero's having brought that plant originally from Scythia, the country of the Hyperboreans, to Olympia; having planted it there near the temple of Jupiter, and ordered that the victors in those games should, for the future, be crowned with the branches of this sacred tree. To this he adds, that Hercules, upon his being removed to heaven, appointed the twin-brothers, Castor and Pollux, to celebrate the Olympic Games, and execute the office of bestowing the olive crown upon those who obtained the victory; and now, continues Pindar, he comes a propitious guest to this sacrifice of Theron, in company with the two sons of Leda, who, to reward the piety and zeal of Theron and his family, have given them success and glory; to the utmost limits of which he insinuates that Theron is arrived; and so concludes with affirming, that it would be in vain for any man, wise or unwise, to attempt to surpass him.

STROPHE I.

WHILE to the fame of Agragas[1] I sing,
For Theron wake the' Olympic string,
And with Aonian garlands grace
His steeds unwearied in the race,
O may the hospitable twins of Jove,
And bright-hair'd Helena[2], the song approve!
For this the muse bestow'd her aid,
As in new measures I essay'd
To harmonize the tuneful words,
And set to Dorian airs my sounding chords.

[1] *Agragas.*] The Greek name for Agrigentum.

[2] Helena was sister to Castor and Pollux, and worshipped together with them, as appears from this passage. Castor and Pollux are here styled hospitable upon account of their having instituted the Theoxenia, which properly implies a festival, or feast, to which all the gods were invited.

ANTISTROPHE I.

And lo! the conquering steeds, whose tossing heads [3]
  Olympia's verdant wreath bespreads,
  The muse-imparted tribute claim,
  Due, Theron, to thy glorious name;
And bid me temper in their master's praise
The flute, the warbling lyre, and melting lays.
  Lo! Pisa too the song requires!
  Elean Pisa, that inspires
  The glowing bard with eager care
  His heaven-directed present to prepare [4]:

EPODE I.

The present offer'd to his virtuous fame,
    On whose ennobled brows
The righteous umpire of the sacred game,
    The' Ætolian judge [5], bestows

3 *Whose tossing heads.*] That the victorious horses, as well as the charioteer and the owner of the chariot, were honoured with an Olympic crown, I have already observed in the Dissertation. If we suppose the victorious horses of Theron to have made part of the triumphal procession that upon this occasion marched to the temple of Castor and Pollux, who, (as the scholiast tells us from Aristarchus) were held in great honour at Agrigentum; we shall see, what I have more than once observed, that Pindar takes many hints from the circumstances of the several countries, temples, solemnities, &c. in which his Odes were to be sung. The not attending to this has probably been the cause not only of over-looking many beauties in this great poet, but of charging him also with many improprieties and extravagances he is by no means guilty of.

4 *His heaven-directed present, &c.*] The poetical presents made to the Olympic conquerors are by Pindar styled heaven-directed (θεύμορροι); because, says the younger scholiast, the victories, which gave occasion to them, proceed from the direction and appointment of heaven.

5 *The' Ætolian judge.*] One Oxylus, an Ætolian, having

The darksome olive, studious to fulfil
The mighty founder's will,
Who this fair ensign of Olympic toil
From distant Scythia's fruitful soil,
And Hyperborean Ister's[6] woody shore,
With fair entreaties gain'd, to Grecian Elis bore.

conducted the Heraclidæ, when they returned into Peloponnesus, received from them, by way of recompense, the government of the Eleans, who from him were afterwards called Ætolians, as the younger scholiast informs us. '*The' Ætolian judge,*' therefore, in this place, denotes the Hellanodic, or president of the Olympic games, who was always chosen from among the Eleans, as I have shown at large in the Dissertation.

[6] *Hyperborean Ister.*] Concerning the situation and country of the Hyperboreans, there are so many inconsistent fables among the ancients, that the modern geographers have given over all hopes of reconciling them. Pindar here places them about the fountains or springs of the Danube; a river, in his time, almost as little known as the Hyperboreans; whom, in his tenth Pythian Ode, he describes as a most happy people, subject neither to diseases nor old age. In short, this country was an ideal region, existing only in the imagination of the poets; who, for that reason, were at liberty to place it in what climate, and fill it with what people and plants they thought proper. It is, therefore, to no purpose to inquire whether the olive will grow in any country about the Danube; since there are so many other circumstances relating to the Hyperboreans, that will not suit with any people or any climate of the known world. The olive, from whence the Olympic crowns were taken, was had in great veneration by the Eleans, who adopted and sanctified the tradition here mentioned by Pindar, as far as relates to the transplanting the olive from the country of the Hyperboreans; for the Hercules, to whom this is attributed, seems, by Pausanias's account, to have been the Idæan Hercules; who was much more ancient than the Theban Hercules, to whom Pindar here ascribes the honour of this exploit.

STROPHE II.

The blameless servants of the Delphic god[7]
With joy the valued gift bestow'd;
Mov'd by the friendly chief to grant,
On terms of peace, the sacred plant;
Destin'd at once to shade Jove's honour'd shrine,
And crown heroic worth with wreaths divine.
For now full-orb'd the wandering moon
In plenitude of brightness shone,
And on the spacious eye of night
Pour'd all the radiance of her golden light:

ANTISTROPHE II.

Now on Jove's altars blaz'd the hallow'd flames,
And now were fix'd the mighty games,
Again, whene'er the circling sun
Four times his annual course had run,
Their period to renew, and shine again
On Alpheus' craggy shores and Pisa's plain:
But subject all the region lay
To the fierce sun's insulting ray,
While upon Pelops' burning vale
No shade arose his fury to repel.

EPODE II.

Then traversing the hills, whose jutting base
Indents Arcadia's meads,
To where the virgin goddess of the chase
Impels her foaming steeds,
To Scythian Ister he directs his way,
Doom'd by his father to obey
The rigid pleasures of Mycenæ's king,
And thence the rapid hind to bring,
Whom, sacred present for the Orthian maid,
With horns of branching gold, Taygeta array'd.

7 Apollo.

STROPHE III.

There as the longsome chase the chief pursued,
The spacious Scythian plains he view'd;
A land beyond the chilling blast,
And northern caves of Boreas cast:
There too the groves of olive he survey'd,
And gaz'd with rapture on the pleasing shade,
Thence by the wondering hero borne
The goals of Elis to adorn.
And now to Theron's sacred feast
With Leda's twins he comes propitious guest!

ANTISTROPHE III.

To Leda's twins (when heaven's divine abodes
He sought, and mingled with the gods)
He gave the' illustrious games to hold,
And crown the swift, the strong, and bold.
Then, muse, to Theron and his house proclaim
The joyous tidings of success and fame,
By Leda's twins bestow'd to grace,
Emmenides, thy pious race,
Who, mindful of heaven's high behests,
With strictest zeal observe their holy feasts.

EPODE III.

As water's vital streams all things surpass,
As gold's all worship'd ore
Holds amid fortune's stores the highest class;
So to that distant shore,
To where the pillars of Alcides rise,
Fame's utmost boundaries,
Theron, pursuing his successful way,
Hath deck'd with glory's brightest ray
His lineal virtues.—Further to attain,
Wise, and unwise, with me despair: the' attemp
were vain.

THE

FOURTH OLYMPIC ODE,

BY MR. PYE.

TO PSAUMIS OF CAMARINA, ON HIS VICTORY IN THE CHARIOT-RACE [1].

ARGUMENT.

THE poet, after an invocation to Jupiter, extols Psaumis for his victory in the chariot-race, and for his desire to honour his country. From thence he takes occasion to praise him for his skill in managing horses, his hospitality, and his love of peace; and, mentioning the history of Erginus, excuses the early whiteness of his hair.

STROPHE.

GREAT Jove! supreme immortal king!
Borne on the' unwearied thunder's wing [2];
Again thy hours, that roll along
Responsive to the varied song,

[1] Psaumis of Camarina was, according to the scholiast, the son of Acron; and got the victory in the chariot-race in the eighty-second Olympiad, about the time that Rome was governed by the Decemviri. Camarina was a city of Sicily, now called Camarana.

[2] *Borne on the' unwearied thunder's wing.*] I find the word Ἐλατὴρ rendered in most of the Latin interpretations

Awake my lyre, and send me forth
A witness of heroic worth.
The virtuous in a friend's success rejoice,
And join the' applauding herald's cheerful voice.—
O son of Saturn! who on Ætna's brow,
The woody load of Typhon's giant breast,
Holdest thy high abode; the Graces now
Invite thee to assist the strain, address'd
To greet the victor in the' Olympic strife;
Of every virtuous deed, the lustre, and the life.

ANTISTROPHE.

On his proud car triumphant plac'd,
His brows with Pisa's olive grac'd,

vibrator, or *impulsor*. And in Sudorius's poetical version, printed at the end of the Oxford Pindar, it is thus translated:

O qui coruscâ fulgura dexterâ
Fulmenque torques.———

The word Ἐλατὴρ in this sense, when connected with ἀκαμαντόποδος, strikes me, as occasioning a confusion of images; but, by considering it as derived from a very usual sense of Ἐλαύνω, viz. *equito;* this confusion is removed. My opinion is favoured by the elder scholiast, who says, τὴν βροντὴν ὁ Πίνδαρος ὡς ἵππον ὑφίσταται τοῦ Διός, διὸ καὶ ἀκαμαντόποδα αὐτὴν εἶπεν: and the more modern scholiast, though he afterwards rather inclines to the other interpretation, says first, Ἐλατὴρ ὑπέρλαλε βροντᾶς· ὡς ἐπί ἵππου χρῆται τῷ λογῳ. Horace uses the same image:

——— Per cœlum tonantes
Egit equos volucremque currum.

And the Supreme Being is described in the same manner by the Psalmist: 'Who maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind.' Psalm civ. ver. 3.

Lo Psaumis comes! the shores around
Fair Camarina's praise resound;
For to his own illustrious name
The patriot joins his country's fame.
O may the' immortal gods propitious hear
His future vows, and grant each pious prayer!
Well is he skill'd to train the generous steed,
Fair plenty crowns his hospitable gate,
With breast sincere he courts the placid meed
Of smiling peace, best guardian of the state:
No hues fallacious tinge my honest lay,
Experience to the world will every truth display [3].

EPODE.

This from the Lemnian dames' disgrace
Freed Clymenus' [4] victorious son,
When, clad in brazen arms, the race
With active limbs the hero won,
And, taking from Hypsipyle [5] the crown,
He thus the royal maid address'd:
'Behold the man! nor great in speed alone!
My hand unvanquish'd, undismay'd my breast.

3 *Experience to the world will every truth display.*] I own this transition seems to me the most abrupt and confused of any in Pindar; and the story of Erginus appears to be brought in without any apparent reason; as the poet himself makes no mention of Psaumis's grey hairs, though all his scholiasts and commentators do.

4 Erginus.

5 ——*Hypsipyle*——] She was daughter of Thoas, king of Lemnos, and instituted funeral games in honour of her father, to which the Argonauts were invited; amongst whom was Erginus, the son of Clymenus, who, having white hair, was ridiculed by the Lemnian women, as unfit to contend for the prize; but beating Zetus and Calais, sons of Boreas, in the race, their contempt was changed into admiration.

These silver tresses, lo! are spread
Untimely, on a youthful head;
For oft capricious nature's rage
Gives to the vigorous brow, the hoary tint of age.'

This is the usual interpretation of the passage; but it has been suggested that the original

Λαμνιάδων γυναικῶν
Ἔλυσεν ἐξ ἀτιμίας,

alludes to the effeminate life the Argonauts lived among the women of Lemnos, where they stopped on their return from their expedition to Colchis: and which interpretation it will certainly justify. I have, therefore, made my translation correspond with the original as nearly as possible. Indeed there is nothing a translator should more carefully guard against, than the being induced to deviate from the plain sense of his author, to adopt the fanciful ideas of commentators, and to introduce into the text, words perhaps totally inconsistent with his real intention. So in the beginning of the second Pythian Ode, Sudorius, having found in the Scholia that Syracuse was composed of four cities joined together, renders the words

Μεγαλεπόλιες ὦ Συρά-
κοσαῖ,——

Quatuor sectæ Syracusæ in urbes;

and destroys the sublimity of the passage by descending to particulars.

THE

FIFTH OLYMPIC ODE,

BY MR. WEST.

This Ode is inscribed to Psaumis, of Camarina, (a town in Sicily) who, in the eighty-second Olympiad, obtained three victories; one in the race of chariots drawn by four horses; a second in the race of the *apené*, or chariot drawn by mules; and a third in the race of single horses.

Some people (it seems) have doubted, whether this Ode be Pindar's, for certain reasons, which, together with the arguments on the other side, the learned reader may find in the Oxford edition, and others of this author; where it is clearly proved to be genuine. But besides the reasons there given for doubting if this Ode be Pindar's, there is another (though not mentioned, as I know of, by any one) which may have helped to bias people in their judgment upon this question. I shall, therefore, beg leave to consider it a little; because what I shall say upon that head, will tend to illustrate both the meaning and the method of Pindar in this Ode. In the Greek editions of this author there are two Odes (of which this is the second) inscribed to the same Psaumis, and dated

both in the same Olympiad. But they differ from each other in several particulars, as well in the matter as the manner. In the second Ode, notice is taken of three victories obtained by Psaumis; in the first, of only one, *viz.* that obtained by him in the race of chariots drawn by four horses: in the second, not only the city of Camarina, but the lake of the same name, many rivers adjoining to it, and some circumstances relating to the present state, and the rebuilding of that city, (which had been destroyed by the Syracusians some years before) are mentioned; whereas in the first, Camarina is barely named, as the country of the conqueror, and as it were out of form: from all which I conclude, that these two Odes were composed to be sung at different times, and in different places. The first at Olympia, immediately upon Psaumis's being proclaimed conqueror in the chariot-race, and before he obtained his other two victories. This may with great probability be inferred, as well from no mention being there made of those two victories, as from the prayer which the poet subjoins immediately to his account of the first, *viz.* that heaven would in like manner be favourable to the rest of the victor's wishes; which prayer, though it be in general words, and one frequently used by Pindar in other of his Odes, yet has a peculiar beauty and propriety, if taken to relate to the other two exercises, in which Psaumis was still to contend; and in which he afterwards came off victorious. That it was the custom for a conqueror, at the time of his being proclaimed, to be attended by a chorus, who sung

a song of triumph in honour of his victory, I have observed in the Dissertation prefixed to these Odes. In the second, there are so many marks of its having been made to be sung at the triumphal entry of Psaumis into his own country, and those so evident; that, after this hint given, the reader cannot help observing them, as he goes through the Ode. I shall, therefore, say nothing more of them in this place; but that they tend, by showing for what occasion this Ode was calculated, to confirm what I said relating to the other; and jointly with that to prove, that there is no reason to conclude from there being two Odes inscribed to the same person, and dated in the same Olympiad, that the latter is not Pindar's; especially as it appears, both in the style and spirit, altogether worthy of him.

ARGUMENT.

THE Poet begins with addressing himself to Camarina, a sea-nymph, from whom the city and lake were both named, to bespeak a favourable reception of his Ode; a present which, he tells her, was made to her by Psaumis, who rendered her city illustrious at the Olympic games; where, having obtained three victories, he consecrated his fame to Camarina, by ordering the herald, when he proclaimed him conqueror, to style him of that city. This he did at Olympia: but now, (continues Pindar) upon his coming home, he is more particular, and inserts in his triumphal song the names of the principal places and rivers belonging to Camarina; from whence the poet takes occasion to speak of the rebuilding of that city, which was done about this time, and of the state of glory, to which, out of her low and miserable condition, she was now brought by the means of Psaumis, and by the lustre cast on her by his victories: 'victories (says he) not to be obtained without much labour and expense, the usual attendants of great and glorious actions; but the man who succeeded in such like undertakings, was sure to be rewarded with the love and approbation of his country.' The poet then addresses himself to Jupiter in a prayer, beseeching him to adorn the city and state of Camarina with virtue and glory; and to grant to the victor Psaumis a joyful and contented old age, and the happiness of dying before his children: after which, he concludes with an exhortation to Psaumis to be contented with his condition; which he insinuates was as happy as that of a mortal could be, and it was to no purpose for him to wish to be a god.

STROPHE.

FAIR Camarina, daughter of the main,
With gracious smiles this choral song receive,
Sweet fruit of virtuous toils; whose noble strain
Shall to the' Olympic wreath new lustre give:

This Psaumis, whom on Alpheus' shore
With unabating speed
The harness'd mules to conquest bore,
This gift to thee decreed;
Thee, Camarina, whose well-peopled tow'rs
Thy Psaumis render'd great in fame,
When to the twelve Olympian pow'rs [1]
He fed with victims the triumphal flame.
When, the double altars round,
Slaughter'd bulls bestrew'd the ground;
When, on five selected days [2],
Jove survey'd the lists of praise;
While along the dusty course
Psaumis urg'd his straining horse,
Or beneath the social yoke
Made the well-match'd coursers smoke;
Or around the' Elean goal
Taught his mule-drawn car to roll.
Then did the victor dedicate his fame
To thee [3], and bade the herald's voice proclaim
Thy new-establish'd walls, and Acron's honour'd name.

[1] It was usual for the conqueror to offer a sacrifice on each of the six altars, which were consecrated by Hercules to twelve gods; who were worshipped, two at each altar, as I have already observed in the Dissertation.

[2] The games began on the eleventh day of the month, and ended on the sixteenth.

[3] Camarina was the country of Psaumis, and Acron was his father; both of which were constantly specified in every proclamation of victory, together with the name of the conqueror.

ANTISTROPHE.

But now return'd from where the pleasant seat
Once of Œnomaus and Pelops stood [4],
Thee, civic Pallas [5], and thy chaste retreat,
He bids me sing, and fair Oanus' flood,
And Camarina's sleeping wave,
And those sequester'd shores,
Through which the thirsty town to lave
Smooth flow the wat'ry stores
Of fishy Hipparis [6], profoundest stream,
Adown whose wood-envelop'd tide
The solid pile, and lofty beam,
Materials for the future palace, glide.
Thus by war's rude tempests torn,
Plung'd in misery and scorn,
Once again, with power array'd,
Camarina lifts her head,
Gaily brightening in the blaze,
Psaumis, of thy hard-earn'd praise.

[4] Œnomaus, and after him Pelops, was king of Elis; so that by this periphrasis the poet means no more, than that Psaumis being returned from Elis, &c.

[5] Minerva was reckoned to preside over all cities, and had, therefore, a temple built to her in the citadel, as at Athens, Sparta, and here at Camarina, whence she was styled πολιοῦχος Ἀθάνα, *urbis præses*, or *custos Minerva*, which I have translated 'civic Pallas.'

[6] This river was of great service to the citizens of Camarina, as it not only supplied them with water and fish in abundance, but with a sort of mud, which they used in making bricks; and with timber for rebuilding their town. This it seems was cut in the woods that grew upon the banks of this river, into which it was thrown, and by the stream conveyed to Camarina, without the trouble of loading it in boats or barges.

Trouble, care, expense, attend
Him who labours to ascend
Where, approaching to the skies,
Virtue holds the sacred prize,
That tempts him to achieve the dangerous deed:
But, if his well-concerted toils succeed,
His country's just applause shall be his glorious
meed.

EPODE.

O Jove! protector of mankind!
O cloud-enthroned king of gods!
Who, on the Cronian mount reclin'd,
With honour crown'st the wide-stream'd floods
Of Alpheus, and the solemn gloom
Of Ida's cave! to thee I come
Thy suppliant, to soft Lydian reeds,
Sweet breathing forth my tuneful pray'r,
That, grac'd with noble, valiant deeds,
This state may prove thy guardian care:
And thou, on whose victorious brow
Olympia bound the sacred bough,
Thou whom Neptunian steeds delight,
With age, content, and quiet crown'd,
Calm may'st thou sink to endless night,
Thy children, Psaumis, weeping round.
And since the gods have giv'n thee fame and wealth,
Join'd with that prime of earthly treasures, health;
Enjoy the blessings they to man assign,
Nor fondly sigh for happiness divine [7].

7 The thought contained in these four last lines is so like one that shall be mentioned in the notes upon the seventh Ode, that I think it proper to refer the reader thither, for a fuller illustration of it.

THE

SIXTH OLYMPIC ODE,

BY MR. B. GREENE AND MR. PYE.

TO AGESIAS OF SYRACUSE, ON HIS VICTORY GAINED BY THE APENE, OR CHARIOT DRAWN BY MULES.

ARGUMENT.

THE poet, after comparing the opening of his Ode to the beautiful portico of a palace built by a skilful architect, celebrates Agesias on account of his Olympic victory; his being guardian of the altar of Jupiter; and being admitted to the rights of a citizen at Syracuse; and from these circumstances compares him to Amphiaraus. Then he mentions his ancestors; and, speaking of Pitana and Evadne, has a long digression on the birth of Iamus. The poet then returns to Agesias, and declares himself to be in some measure of the same country; and exhorts Æneas, the leader of the chorus, to exert himself; directing him to celebrate Agesias, for his being an inhabitant of Sicily, and for his friendship with Hiero, king of Syracuse; and, congratulating him on his good fortune in having two countries, concludes with a prayer to Neptune for his prosperity.

STROPHE I.

THE skilful architect, whose dædal hand
Contrives the far-resplendent dome to raise,
Bids the bright porch on shapely columns stand,
That rich with gold, and polish'd marble, blaze.—

So we superbly pour along
In conscious dignity the opening song.
To him Olympia's wreath who wears,
Who guards the Thunderer's sacred fane,
And every social blessing shares,
With Syracusa's happy train;
Each friendly voice shall notes of triumph blow,
And each unenvious hand a votive wreath bestow.

ANTISTROPHE I.

In this thrice-honour'd state by fortune plac'd [1],
The happy son of Sostratus behold!
Nor is the warrior or the seaman grac'd,
Till danger and till toil their worth unfold.
But fame's eternal Pæans wait
The virtuous labours of the brave and great.—
To thee, Agesias [2], shall belong
Those genuine praises, which of old

[1] *In this thrice-honour'd state by fortune plac'd*—] The original is

Ἴϛω γὰρ ἐν τόπῳ ποδί-
λῳ δαιμόνιον πόδ' ἔχων.

To stand in a person's shoes, is a well-known English proverbial expression. This is a striking instance of the different genius of languages; what is sublime in the Greek, would be the height of ridicule in English.

[2] Agesias, the son of Sostratus, is sometimes called of Syracuse, sometimes of Stymphalus, a city of Arcadia; and the opinion of most of the Commentators seems to be, that, of his father's side, he was a Syracusan, of his mother's an Arcadian: but from the tenor of the Ode itself, I rather incline to think he was a native of Stymphalus, and afterwards inhabited Syracuse: most likely drawn thither by the friendship of Hiero; and this idea I have followed in my translation. Συνοικιϛήρ τε τᾶν κλεπᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν, seems, I think, to intimate his being

Adrastus [3], with no flattering tongue,
On Amphiaraus, sacred seer! bestow'd:
What time the fatal earth, with yawning womb,
Him and his fiery steeds clos'd living in the tomb.

admitted to a participation of the rights of the Syracusans, rather than his being a citizen himself. And where the poet makes use of the expression μάτρωες ἄνδρες, it may only mean that his maternal ancestors lived in the part of Arcadia contiguous to the mountain Cyllene, and were priests of Mercury. But I can see no reason to infer from this that his paternal ancestors were not Arcadians; or to imagine from any other part of the Ode, that they were inhabitants of Sicily. One of the Greeks who accompanied the younger Cyrus in his expedition, near a century after this, was of the same name and country, and is often mentioned by Xenophon, who had a particular friendship for him.

Mr. West, in his learned Dissertation on the Olympic Games, gives the following account of the ἀπήνη: 'The *apené* was a chariot drawn by two mules, after the manner of the *synoris**, as Pausanias tells us; and was introduced into the Olympic games by one Asandrastus, as we learn from Pindar's scholiast. I have called it a chariot, though if it resembled the apené, described by Homer in the 24th Iliad, it should more properly be called a waggon: and indeed that account of it agrees best with what Pausanias says; who observes, that the race of the apené could pretend to neither antiquity nor beauty; and that mules were held in such abomination by the Eleans, that they permitted none of those animals to be bred in their country.'

3 *Adrastus, with no flattering tongue,*
On Amphiaraus, sacred seer! bestow'd.]

Adrastus, son of Talaus, was king of the Argives: Polynices, son of Œdipus, married his daughter; who being killed, Adrastus made war with the Thebans in behalf of his son Thersander; where he lost a battle before each of the seven gates of the city; and being unable to recover the dead bodies of his soldiers, he applied to Theseus, who prevailed on the Thebans to permit him to erect a funeral pile before each gate. Am-

* The synoris was a chariot drawn by two full-aged horses.

EPODE I.

Now seven funeral pyres begun
To shed a lurid blaze around,
When Talaus' * sorrowing son
Pour'd to the Theban host this mournful sound:
'O how I languish to behold [4]
The bravest of my warrior train,
Who fate's eternal mysteries can unfold,
Or spread destruction o'er the' embattled plain!'
To him, the Syracusan youth, belong
Such praise, to whom I tune the' Olympic song.
No son of Discord, I proclaim
His worths, his triumphs are the same:
And with an oath confirm the' unerring strain,
Form'd by the favouring help of all Aönia's train.

phiaraus, son of Oicleus, was a celebrated augur, that accompanied him, and was swallowed up by the earth, at the command of Jupiter.

———ὁ δ' Ἀμφιάρηι
Σχίσεν κεραυνῷ παμβίᾳ
Ζεὺς τὰν βαθύστερνον χθόνα,
Κρύψεν δ' αμ' ἵπποις. Nem. ix. 57.

4 *O how I languish to behold*
The bravest of my warrior train.]

In the original it is,

Ποθέω στρατιᾶς
Ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμᾶς———

So Pindar, speaking of the ancestors of Theron, says,

———Σικελίας τ' ἔσαν
Ὀφθαλμὸς.——— Olymp. II. 17.

* Adrastus.

STROPHE II.

Come then, O Phintis [5]! to the shining car
With speed, with speed the rapid coursers join;
That whirling o'er the purest paths afar,
We reach his ancestor's high-honour'd line.
Above the rest my coursers know
When Pisa's olive decks the hero's brow,
To bear him o'er the sounding road
Where, far from dark oblivion's cell,
Bright honour holds her high abode,
And fame and glory ever dwell.
Now wide the gates of harmony display,
For to Eurota's shores I guide the sounding lay.

ANTISTROPHE II.

To fair Pitana sing, who whilom bore
Evadne, beauteous in her hair that flows:
Compress'd by Neptune on the silent shore,
With strictest care she hid her virgin throes [6];
But when the circling moons her pain
Maturely brought, she bade her female train,
To Æpytus' parental hands
With silent care the child convey:

[5] *Come then, O Phintis*——] Φίνλις, Doricè for Φίλλις, *anima*. I have chosen to keep the Greek word as a proper name. Sudorius does the same in the Latin version, only he puts Philtis.

Junge sed promptos mihi jam jugales
Philtis.——

[6] —— *virgin throes.*] In the original, παρθενίαν ὠδῖνα. The Scholiast says, Παρθένιοι δὲ λέγονται παῖδες, οἱ κρύφα τικτόμενοι παρὰ τῶν νομιζομένων παρθένων εἶναι. Those secretly produced by reputed virgins, are called maiden-children.

Phasana's turrets who commands,
Where Alpheus pours his silver-winding way:
On whose enamell'd banks she learn'd to prove,
In great Apollo's arms, the blushing rites of love.

EPODE II.

As o'er heaven's eternal field
Roll'd the hours in circling pace,
Time to Æpytus reveal'd
The produce of the stolen embrace;
Now to Pytho's sacred shrine
Eager the anxious monarch goes,
To listening Phœbus and the powers divine,
The impious deed impatient to disclose.
Meantime her zone with purple texture grac'd [7],
Beside the silver urn Evadne plac'd;

7 —— *her zone with purple texture grac'd,*
Beside the silver urn Evadne plac'd—]

I am obliged to Mr. Barnaby Greene for an explanation of this passage, which he obligingly communicated to me, and which he has inserted in the appendix to his translation of Pindar. I will give it in his own words, as I have the emendation of the verse, as nearly as the measure of my stanza would admit. 'The zone (according to Dr. Potter) was not only worn by virgins, but by women after marriage, as a security against the insults of men; and this zone was untied in child-birth.' *Potter's Grec. Antiq. Vol.* ii. *p.* 292. 'No sooner was the child brought into the world, than it was washed with water.' *Ibid.* p. 325. 'It must, therefore, be concluded, that a woman in child-birth was always prepared with an urn, or vessel, which contained the water appropriated to the foregoing purpose. The paraphrase of this passage in the Oxford Pindar is as follows: 'Atque interim illa, solutâ virgineâ zonâ, parturiendo prævias prænunciasque aquas, et sanguinem cum fœtu fundens,' &c.—Another Commentator says, 'Est autem *verecunda* par-

Veil'd by the bowering grove from sight,
And gave the heaven-born child to light,
While on his birth the god * with golden hair
Invokes the' auspicious fates, and chaste Lucina's
care.

STROPHE III.

Not long, Iamus, on the lonely glade
Unnotic'd, unprotected, didst thou lie:—
For, by the gods' command, lo! through the shade
Two watchful dragons dart with azure eye,
And from the bees' transparent hoard
Thy little breast with dulcet nurture stor'd.
And now by rocky Pytho taught
The wandering king, return'd again,
From all his train domestic sought
The fruit of fair Evadne's pain;
For shining Phœbus from his sacred shrine
Proclaim'd Evadne's love, and own'd the boy divine.

ANTISTROPHE III.

And openly declar'd—' his future worth
Above mankind in mystic lore should shine,
And ne'er be wanting in the happy birth
Of glorious sons.'—Thus spake the voice divine!
Five days were pass'd the mother's pain,
Unfound the infant by the careful train.

tûs descriptio, ἀργυρέα κάλπις, Argentea Amphora, est aqua fœtum præcurrens, zona φοινικόκροκος est sanguineus humor, et involucrum in quo fœtus uterum maternum egreditur.' I am at a loss which to admire most, the ingenuity or the decency of these remarks.

* Apollo.

Far from the reach of every eye,
Deep in the' irriguous rushes laid,
While purple violets growing by,
With dewy leaves his body shade:
His mother's voice at length the place proclaim'd,
And from his fragrant couch the heavenly infant
nam'd [8].

EPODE III.

As the gently circling hours
Still their fostering influence shed,
And opening manhood's roseate flowers
Kindly crown'd his blooming head;
Descending then to Alpheus' shores,
While round his head the night-winds blow,
He calls the god who rules where ocean roars,
And Phœbus dreadful with his silver bow:
Desiring public fame, and fair renown, [crown.—
Might with their verdant wreaths his temples
Soon each paternal voice divine
Own'd him as sprung from heavenly line;
'Rise, son, and this propitious sound pursue,
Till Pisa's crowded plains rise to thy raptur'd view.'

STROPHE IV.

The hero straight the voice obey'd; and now
Cronius, thy cliffs and rocky heights they scale;
There the kind gods the twofold art bestow
Of augury, that never knew to fail:
There, many a dreadful labour done,
At length when great Alcmena's son

[8] *And from his fragrant couch the heavenly infant nam'd.*] Iamus, from ἰος, *viola.* Scholiast.

Arriv'd, and bade the awful shrine
Sacred to potent Jove arise,
And first began those rites divine,
Where courage wins the' Olympic prize;
He rais'd the crowded fane's prophetic fame,
Whilst Grecia's shouting sons Iamus' worth proclaim.

ANTISTROPHE IV.

Hence endless fame, and happy fortunes, wait
On the Iamidæ's exulting race.—
Those who in virtue's rugged ways are great,
The most conspicuous paths of life shall grace.
Still glorious deeds the hero speak,
Though Envy burst her venom'd cheek,
And teach her offspring to despise
The man, on Pisa's trophied plain
Whose coursers know the' Olympic prize
In the twelve-turn'd course to gain.—
Grateful, Agesias! to the powers divine,
Were all the fervent vows of thy maternal line.

EPODE IV.

Who beneath the sacred shade
Which Cyllene's mountains shed,
Honours due for ever paid
To Hermes' venerable head;
To him who cleaves the yielding skies,
The herald of the' ethereal train,
Who in the' Olympic strife appoints the prize,
And guards Arcadia's happy-peopled plain.
He and his thundering sire to thee decreed,
O son of Sostratus! the glorious meed.—

A sudden thought I raptur'd feel,
Which, as the whetstone points the steel,
Brightens my sense, and bids me warbling raise
To the soft-breathing flute, the kindred notes of
praise.

STROPHE V.

From fair Arcadia too my line I bring,
From Stymphalus the bright Metopa came,
Mother of warlike Thebes, whose silver spring
I drink, and votive songs of triumph frame.
Bid your compeërs now, Æneas, raise
Their voices to Parthenian Juno's praise;
Then shall be known if we avoid
The long-borne adage of disgrace [9],
Which ancient malice has employ'd
To stigmatize Bœotia's race;
To thee the secrets of the Muse belong,
And well thou know'st to guide the far-resounding
song.

ANTISTROPHE V.

To Syracusa's and Ortygia's praise,
Tell them aloud to swell the' exulting strain;
Whose plains with blameless sceptre Hiero sways,
Performing sacred rites to Ceres' fane,
To her lov'd daughter, Pluto's love,
And him, the king of gods, Ætnean Jove.

9 *The long-borne adage of disgrace,*
Which ancient malice has employ'd
To stigmatize Bœotia's race.]

Βοιωτίαν υν, a *Bœotian hog:* the expression in the original, was a proverbial phrase throughout Greece; ridiculing the national dulness of the Bœotians.

Him the sounding lyre, and song,
Know, and honour as their friend;
Ne'er may time that rolls along
To his blessings give an end,
Still may he, fortune's friend, with cheerful voice
In bold Agesias' worth, and votive hymns rejoice.

EPODE V.

Stymphalus' maternal walls,
And Arcadia's fleecy glades
Leaving:—here his fortune calls
To Sicilia's fragrant shades;
Either country claims him now;
When the midnight tempests roar,
And raging loud the stormy whirlwinds blow,
Two anchors best the shatter'd vessel moor.
On each may heaven its guardian care bestow!—
And thou who rul'st where ocean's torrents flow,
Amphitrité's honour'd mate,
Through the rocks and shoals of fate
Propitious guide Agesias' bark along,
And grace with livelier flowers my rapture-breathing song.

THE

SEVENTH OLYMPIC ODE,

BY MR. WEST.

THIS Ode is inscribed to Diagoras, the son of Damagetus, of Rhodes, who, in the seventy-ninth Olympiad, obtained the victory in the exercise of the Cæstus.

This Ode was in such esteem among the ancients, that it was deposited in a temple of Minerva, written in letters of gold.

ARGUMENT.

THE poet begins this noble song of triumph with a simile, by which he endeavours to show his great esteem for those who obtain the victory in the Olympic and other games; as also the value of the present that he makes them upon that occasion; a present always acceptable, because fame and praise is that which delights all mortals; 'wherefore the Muse (says he) is perpetually looking about for proper objects to bestow it upon;' and seeing the great actions of Diagoras, takes up a resolution of celebrating him, the isle of Rhodes his country, and his father Damagetus, according to the form observed by the herald in proclaiming the conquerors, which I mentioned

in the notes upon the fifth Ode; Damagetus, and consequently Diagoras, being descended from Tlepolemus, who led over a colony of Grecians from Argos to Rhodes, where he settled, and obtained the dominion of that island. From Tlepolemus, therefore, Pindar declares he will deduce his song: which he addresses to all the Rhodians in common with Diagoras, who were descended from Tlepolemus, or from those Grecians that came over with him; that is, almost all the people of Rhodes, who indeed are as much, if not more, interested in the greatest part of this Ode, as Diagoras the conqueror. Pindar accordingly relates the occasion of Tlepolemus's coming to Rhodes, which, he tells us, was in obedience to an oracle, that commanded him to seek out that island; which, instead of telling us its name, Pindar, in a more poetical manner, characterizes by relating of it some legendary stories (if I may so speak) that were peculiar to the isle of Rhodes; such as the golden shower, and the occasion of Apollo's choosing that island for himself; both which stories he relates at large with such a flame of poetry, as shows his imagination to have been extremely heated and elevated with his subjects. Neither does he seem to cool in the short account that he gives, in the next place, of the passion of Apollo for the nymph Rhodos; from whom the island received its name, and from whom were descended its original inhabitants, (whom, just before, the poet therefore called the sons of Apollo) and particularly the three brothers, Camirus, Lindus, and Ialysus; who divided that country into three kingdoms, and built the three principal cities, which retained their names. In this island Tlepolemus (says the poet, returning to the story of that hero) found rest, and a period to all his misfortunes; and at length grew into such esteem with the Rhodians, that they worshipped him as a god, appointing sacrifices to him, and instituting games in his honour. The mention of those games naturally brings back the poet to Diagoras, and gives him occasion, from the two victories obtained by Diagoras in those games, to enumerate all the prizes won by that famous conqueror in all the games of Greece: after which enumeration, he begs of Jupiter, in a solemn prayer, to grant Diagoras the love of his country, and the admiration of all the world, as a reward for the many virtues for which he and his family had always

been distinguished, and for which their country had so often triumphed; and then, as if he had been a witness of the extravagant transports of the Rhodians, (to which, not the festival only occasioned by the triumphal entry of their countrymen, and the glory reflected upon them by his victories, but much more the flattering and extraordinary eulogiums bestowed upon the whole nation in this Ode, might have given birth) the poet on a sudden changes his hand, and checks their pride by a moral reflection on the vicissitude of fortune, with which he exhorts them to moderation, and so concludes.

HEROIC STANZAS.

As when a father in the golden vase,
  The pride and glory of his wealthy stores,
Bent his lov'd daughter's nuptial torch to grace,
  The vineyard's purple dews profusely pours;

Then to his lips the foaming chalice rears,
  With blessings hallow'd and auspicious vows,
And mingling with the draught transporting tears,
  On the young bridegroom the rich gift bestows;

The precious earnest of esteem sincere,
  Of friendly union and connubial love:
The bridal train the sacred pledge revere,
  And round the youth in sprightly measures move.

He to his home the valued present bears,
  The grace and ornament of future feasts;
Where, as his father's bounty he declares,
  Wonder shall seize the gratulating guests.

Thus on the valiant, on the swift, and strong,
  Castalia's genuine nectar I bestow;
And pouring forth the muse-descended song,
  Bid to their praises the rich numbers flow.

Grateful to them resounds the' harmonic ode,
  The gift of friendship and the pledge of fame,
Happy the mortal, whom the' Aönian god
  Cheers with the music of a glorious name!

The Muse her piercing glances throws around,
  And quick discovers every worthy deed:
And now she wakes the lyre's enchanting sound,
  Now fills with various strains the vocal reed:

But here each instrument of song divine,
  The vocal reed and lyre's enchanting string,
She tunes, and bids their harmony combine
  Thee and thy Rhodes, Diagoras, to sing;

Thee and thy country [1], native of the flood,
  Which from bright Rhodos draws her honour'd name.
Fair nymph, whose charms subdued the Delphic god,
  Fair blooming daughter of the Cyprian dame.

[1] This, and the other particulars mentioned in this stanza, will be further explained by Pindar himself, in the sequel of this Ode, of which he hath given us a kind of summary, or short contents; so that I shall detain the reader no longer than to tell him, that there are different genealogies of the nymph Rhodos, whom Pindar makes the daughter of Venus, and consort of the sun; for which latter, those who would allegorize all the fables of the ancients, give for a reason, that there is no day in the year so cloudy, that the sun does not shine upon that island.

To sing thy triumphs in the' Olympic sand,
Where Alpheus saw thy giant temples crown'd [2];
Fam'd Pythia too proclaim'd thy conquering hand,
Where sweet Castalia's [3] mystic currents sound.

Nor Damagetus will I pass unsung,
Thy sire, the friend of justice and of truth;
From noble ancestors whose lineage sprung,
The chiefs who led to Rhodes the Argive youth.

There near to Asia's wide-extended strand,
Where jutting Embolus [4] the waves divides,
In three divisions they possess'd the land [5],
Enthron'd amid the hoarse resounding tides.

[2] The epithet of giant belongs very justly to Diagoras, who was six feet five inches high, as shall be shown in the last note upon this Ode.

[3] Castalia is a river that runs at the foot of Mount Parnassus, sacred to the Muses, whose murmurs were esteemed to be oraculous. Upon the banks of this river the Pythian games were celebrated.

[4] The name of a temple, or rather of a promontory, in Lycia, so called from its running out into the sea, like the head or beak of a ship.

[5] Before Tlepolemus, the son of Hercules, led a colony of Grecians to Rhodes, that island was inhabited by the children of the sun, or Apollo, and the nymph Rhodos, as we learn in this very Ode; so that there were two sorts of inhabitants, of two different races, in this island, both of which the poet has the address to interest in this song of triumph, by taking occasion from the oracle delivered to Tlepolemus, to insert several stories in honour of the old Rhodians, at the same time that he seems to apply himself more particularly to the descendants of Tlepolemus, and the Argives, who indeed were more nearly concerned, as they were originally of the same race and country with the conqueror Diagoras. It will be necessary, for the bet-

To their descendants will I tune my lyre,
  The offspring of Alcides bold and strong,
And from Tlepolemus, their common sire,
  Deduce the national historic song.

Tlepolemus of great Alcides came,
  The fruits of fair Astydameia's love,
Jove-born Amyntor got the Argive dame:
  So either lineage is deriv'd from Jove.

But wrapt in error is the human mind,
  And human bliss is ever insecure:
Know we what fortune yet remains behind?
  Know we how long the present shall endure?

For lo! the founder * of the Rhodian state,
  Who from Saturnian Jove his being drew,
While his fell bosom swell'd with vengeful hate,
  The bastard brother of Alcmena slew.

With his rude mace, in fair Tiryntha's walls,
  Tlepolemus inflicts the horrid wound:
Ev'n at his mother's door Licymnius falls,
  Yet warm from her embrace, and bites the ground.

ter understanding the order and connection of the several parts of this Ode, for the reader to carry in his memory this distinction of the two races of inhabitants, that at different times composed the people of Rhodes. The division of that island into three districts seems to have been as old as the building of the three cities, Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus, said by Pindar to have been built by the three brothers whose names they bore: but Diodorus Siculus makes Tlepolemus the author of that division, and the founder of those three cities. The history of Tlepolemus (as far as it relates to the present Ode) is so fully told by Pindar himself, that it is needless to add any thing to it.

* Tlepolemus.

Passion may oft the wisest heart surprise:
  Conscious and trembling for the murderous deed,
To Delphi's oracle the hero flies,
  Solicitous to learn what heaven decreed.

Him bright-hair'd Phœbus, from his odorous fane,
  Bade set his flying sails from Lerna's shore,
And, in the bosom of the eastern main,
  That sea-girt region hasten to explore [6];

[6] *That sea-girt region hasten to explore;*
That blissful island, where a wondrous cloud
Once rain'd, at Jove's command, a golden shower.

From the mention of this golden shower, Pindar starts into a particular relation of that and some other fables, if not invented, yet improved by him, in honour of the Rhodians. These fables, I say, were improved in all likelihood, if not invented by Pindar; for although that part of the story, in which we are told that the Rhodians were by their father, the Sun, acquainted with the birth of Minerva, and ordered to sacrifice to her immediately, be, as Diod. Siculus informs us, mentioned by the historians, who treat of the antiquities of Rhodes, and that circumstance of the Rhodians forgetting in their hurry to put fire under their victims, be, as the same author tells us, authenticated by a peculiar ceremony used in his time in Rhodes in their sacred mysteries, viz. the laying the victim upon the altar before the fire is laid on; yet he seems to have had no better authority for the golden shower, than a figurative expression used by Homer, to denote the flourishing state of Rhodes in the time of Tlepolemus. *Il. ω.*

Καὶ σφιν θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων.

'Jove poured down upon them immense riches.' In like manner, what he says of Minerva's having upon this occasion bestowed upon the Rhodians the knowledge of all kinds of arts, particularly statuary, is no other than a poetical compliment to them upon their known excellence in that art, which from them was called 'the Rhodian art.'

That blissful island, where a wondrous cloud
  Once rain'd, at Jove's command, a golden show'r;
What time, assisted by the Lemnian god,
  The king of heaven brought forth the virgin-pow'r.

By Vulcan's art the father's teeming head
  Was open'd wide, and forth impetuous sprung,
And shouted fierce and loud, the warrior-maid:
  Old mother-earth and heaven affrighted rung.

Then Hyperion's son, pure fount of day,
  Did to his children the strange tale reveal:
He warn'd them straight the sacrifice to slay,
  And worship the young power with earliest zeal.

So would they soothe the mighty father's mind,
  Pleas'd with the honours to his daughter paid;
And so propitious ever would they find
  Minerva, warlike, formidable maid.

On staid precaution, vigilant and wise,
  True virtue and true happiness depend;
But oft oblivion's darkening clouds arise,
  And from the destin'd scope our purpose bend.

The Rhodians, mindful of their sire's behest,
  Straight in the citadel an altar rear'd;
But with imperfect rites the power address'd,
  And without fire their sacrifice prepar'd.

Yet Jove approving, o'er the' assembly spread
  A yellow cloud, that drop'd with golden dews;
While in their opening hearts the blue-eyed maid
  Deign'd her celestial science to infuse.

Thence in all arts the sons of Rhodes excel,
  Though best their forming hands the chisel guide;
This in each street the breathing marbles tell,
  The stranger's wonder, and the city's pride.

Great praise the works of Rhodian artists find [7],
  Yet to their heavenly mistress much they owe;
Since art and learning cultivate the mind,
  And make the seeds of genius quicker grow.

Some say, that when by lot the' immortal gods
  With Jove these earthly regions did divide,
All undiscover'd lay Phœbean Rhodes [8],
  Whelm'd deep beneath the salt Carpathian tide;

7 The words of the original in this place are so obscure, that the commentators are not agreed upon the sense of them. The interpretation I have put upon them is agreeable to the old scholiast, and is rendered by Horace, the constant imitator of this author, in the following verses,

Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,
Rectique cultus pectora roborant.

8 This fable of Apollo's choosing for his portion the island o Rhodes, even while it yet lay at the bottom of the sea, was probably an invention of Pindar himself, founded upon an old tradition which Diod. Siculus relates, viz. That the Telchines, the first inhabitants of Rhodes, foreseeing an inundation, forsook the island, and were dispersed and scattered abroad. When the flood came, it rose so high, that besides destroying those that remained in the island, all the flat and champaign part of the country (with showers that poured down continually) was like a standing pool of water; some few that fled to the higher ground were preserved, amongst whom were the sons of Jupiter. But Sol, (as the story is) falling in love with Rhoda, called the island after her name Rhodes, and cleared the island of the inundation. But the truth (continues he) couched in the fable is

That, absent on his course, the god of day
By all the heavenly synod was forgot,
Who, his incessant labours to repay,
Nor land nor sea to Phœbus did allot;

That Jove, reminded, would again renew
The' unjust partition, but the god denied;
And said, 'Beneath yon hoary surge I view
An isle emerging through the briny tide:

'A region pregnant with the fertile seed
Of plants, and herbs, and fruits, and foodful grain;
Each verdant hill unnumber'd flocks shall feed:
Unnumber'd men possess each flowery plain.'

this; in the first generation of all things, when the island lay in mud and dirt, the sun dried up the moisture, and made the land productive of living creatures; whence sprang the seven Heliades, so called from the Sun (in Greek *Helios*) and other men, the original inhabitants. And hence it is, that they account the island to be consecrated to the Sun, and the Rhodians in after-times constantly worshipped the Sun above all other gods, as the parent from whence they first sprang.

By comparing this account given us by Diodorus, with the pompous fable formed upon it by Pindar, one may see how much of the mythology of the Greeks was owing to the invention of their poets. That of Pindar, in the passage before us, is truly great and noble. Apollo's discovering the island while it lay as yet buried under the waters of the sea, and his foretelling the flourishing condition to which it should afterwards arrive, are circumstances every way suiting the character of the source of light, and the great seer of heaven; as his demanding that island for his portion, preferable to any other region that might fall to his share in a new allotment of the kingdoms of the earth offered him by Jupiter, and his requiring the fates to ratify the donation of it to him by an oath, always deemed in-

Then straight to Lachesis he gave command,
  Who binds in golden cauls her jetty hair;
He bade the fatal sister stretch her hand,
  And by the Stygian rivers bade her swear;

Swear to confirm the Thunderer's decree,
  Which to his rule that fruitful island gave,
When from the oozy bottom of the sea
  Her head she rear'd above the Lycian wave.

The fatal sister swore, nor swore in vain;
  Nor did the tongue of Delphi's prophet err;
Up sprung the blooming island through the main;
  And Jove on Phœbus did the boon confer.

In this fam'd isle, the radiant sire of light,
  The god whose reins the fiery steeds obey,
Fair Rhodos saw, and, kindling at the sight,
  Seiz'd, and by force enjoy'd the beauteous prey:

From whose divine embraces sprung a race
  Of mortals, wisest of all human kind;
Seven sons, endow'd with every noble grace;
  The noble graces of a sapient mind.

Of these Ialysus and Lindus came,
  Who with Camirus shar'd the Rhodian lands;
Apart they reign'd, and sacred to his name
  Apart each brother's royal city stands.

violable, are strokes of the finest flattery: so much the more pleasing to the Rhodians, as they corresponded exactly with the particular worship paid by them to Apollo, and the belief of their being his chosen and peculiar people.

Here a secure retreat from all his woes [9]
  Astydameia's * hapless offspring found;
Here, like a god in undisturb'd repose,
  And like a god with heavenly honours crown'd,

His priests and blazing altars he surveys,
  And hecatombs, that feed the odorous flame;
With games, memorial of his deathless praise;
  Where twice, Diagoras, unmatch'd in fame,

Twice on thy head the livid poplar shone, [brows
  Mix'd with the darksome pine, that binds the
Of Isthmian victors, and the Nemean crown,
  And every palm that Attica bestows.

9 Tlepolemus, becoming king of the Rhodians, led a body of them to the siege of Troy, where he was slain by Sarpedon. But the Rhodians, out of regard to his memory, (as their king and the founder of their state) brought his bones back with them to Rhodes; where they also erected a temple to him, and appointed an anniversary celebration of games in his honour, the prize in which was a chaplet of white poplar. The mention of these games brings Pindar back again to the hero of this Ode, Diagoras; a list of whose victories he here gives us, beginning with the two obtained by him in his own country, Rhodes; and ending with those which he had gained at Megara; which were so many, (says Pindar) that there was no other name, but that of Diagoras, to be seen upon the column, upon which, according to the custom of that city, the names of the conquerors were engraved. He had before mentioned his Pythian and Olympic victories. The vase, the brazen shield, the tripod, and the robe, were all prizes bestowed on the conquerors in the several games here mentioned by Pindar.

* Tlepolemus.

Diagoras the' Arcadian vase obtain'd;
  Argos to him adjudg'd her brazen shield;
His mighty hands the Theban tripod gain'd,
  And bore the prize from each Bœotian field.

Six times in rough Ægina he prevail'd;
  As oft Pellene's robe of honour won;
And still at Megara in vain assail'd,
  He with his name hath fill'd the victor's stone.

O thou, who, high on Atabyrius thron'd [10],
  Seest from his summits all this happy isle,
By thy protection be my labours crown'd:
  Vouchsafe, Saturnius, on my verse to smile!

And grant to him, whose virtue is my theme,
  Whose valiant heart the' Olympic wreaths pro-
At home his country's favour and esteem, [claim,
  Abroad, eternal, universal fame.

For well to thee Diagoras is known;
  Ne'er to injustice have his paths declin'd;
Nor from his sires degenerates the son;
  Whose precepts and examples fire his mind.

Then from obscurity preserve a race [11],
  Who to their country joy and glory give;
Their country, that in them views every grace,
  Which from their great forefathers they receive.

[10] Atabyrius was a mountain in Rhodes, on the top of which was a temple of Jupiter.

[11] Diagoras himself lived to see this prayer of his poet accomplished in the glory of his children; his three sons having, like

Yet as the gales of fortune various blow,
To-day tempestuous, and to-morrow fair,
Due bounds, ye Rhodians, let your transports know;
Perhaps to-morrow comes a storm of care.

him, obtained the Olympic crown: whose statues, together with that of their father, were erected at Olympia in the sacred grove of Jupiter. The statue of Diagoras was six feet and five inches high, as the younger scholiast of Pindar tells us: and, as the old scholiast informs us, this was the very height of Diagoras himself; so exact were the Grecian statuaries. Next to Diagoras was placed also the statue of his grandson Pisidorus, the son of Callipatira, who with his brother or cousin-german, Eucles, also had been honoured with the Olympic crown.

Mr. Bayle, in his Dictionary, has an article upon this Diagoras, in which he relates from Pausanias a famous story of him, viz. That Diagoras having attended his two sons, Damagetus and Acusilaus, to the Olympic games, and both the young men having been proclaimed conquerors, he was carried on the shoulders of his two victorious sons, through the midst of that great assembly of the Greeks, who showered down flowers upon him as he passed along, congratulating him upon the glory of his sons. Some authors (adds Mr. Bayle) say, he was so transported upon this occasion, that he died of joy. But this account he rejects as false, for reasons which may be seen at large in the notes upon this article. Tully and Plutarch, alluding to this story of Diagoras, add, that a Spartan coming up to him, said, 'Now, die, Diagoras, for thou canst not climb to heaven.' Which Mr. Bayle paraphrases in this manner: 'You are arrived, Diagoras, at the highest pitch of glory you can aspire to; for you must not flatter yourself, that if you lived longer you should ascend to heaven. Die then, that you may not run the risk of a fall.' Which is certainly the meaning of this famous saying of the Spartan. Pindar concludes his Ode to Psaumis, with an exhortation founded upon a way of reasoning so like this of the Spartan's, that I am inclined to think one may have been borrowed from the other.

In the Greek notes upon the title of this Ode, this story of Diagoras is related with this difference from Pausanias: the persons there said to have taken Diagoras upon their shoulders, seem not to have been the sons of Diagoras, but his grand-children, (the sons of one of his sons) who by the same author are represented as having gained each of them an Olympic crown upon the same day with their father. Of this Mr. Bayle takes no notice, though he has extracted several particulars concerning Diagoras out of this very Ode.

THE

EIGHTH OLYMPIC ODE,

BY MR. B. GREEN AND MR. PYE.

To Alcimedon, on his Olympic victory; Timosthenes, on his Nemean victory; and Melesias, their preceptor.

ARGUMENT.

THOUGH this is called an Olympic Ode, the poet does not confine himself to Alcimedon, who won the prize in those games, but celebrates his brother Timosthenes, for his success at Nemea, and Melesias, their instructor. The Ode opens with an invocation to the place where the games were held. Pindar then, after praising Timosthenes for his early victory in the Nemean games, mentions Alcimedon, and extols him for his dexterity and strength, his beauty, and his country Ægina; which he celebrates for its hospitality, and for its being under the government of the Dorians after the death of Æacus: on whom he has a long digression, giving an account of his assisting the gods in the building of Troy. Then returning to his subject, he mentions Melesias as skilled himself in the athletic exercises, and therefore proper to instruct others; and, enumerating his triumphs, congratulates him on the success of his pupil Alcimedon; which, he says, will not only give satisfaction to his living relations, but will delight the ghosts of those deceased. The poet then concludes with a wish for the prosperity of him and his family.

STROPHE I.

OLYMPIA! mother of heroic games!
Queen of true prophecy! beneath whose grove
While the red victims pile the' aspiring flames,
The augurs search the high behests of Jove:
Thence try to know on whom he'll deign to smile
Of those, who, by the means of glorious toil,
Seek on the dusty cirque with generous pain,
Virtue's immortal meed, and honour'd rest to gain.

ANTISTROPHE I.

For to the supplications of the good
He ever deigns a favouring ear to give.
O Pisa's woody shades, o'er Alpheus flood
That wave, my wreath-bestowing song receive;
Eternal fame and endless honours shine
On him whose brows thy sacred leaves entwine.—
For different pleasures, different bosoms glow,
And various ways to bliss the' indulgent gods bestow.

EPODE I.

Timosthenes [1], what fair renown
Was on thy almost infant actions shed,
When genial Jove resolv'd with fame to crown
Thine and thy brother's youthful head!
While shouting Nemea owns thy conquering name
And Pisa's groves Alcimedon proclaim:

[1] *Timosthenes, what fair renown.*] Though this, as a Olympic Ode, should belong chiefly to Alcimedon, the poe here first mentions his brother, and addresses himself particu larly to him.

Lovely shone his form and face;
Nor did his deeds that form disgrace,
When, victor in the glorious strife,
He bade the listening woods around
Ægina's sea-girt shores resound;
Whose regions gave him life.

STROPHE II.

There sacred Themis sits, belov'd of Jove,
Her favourite people's ever-watchful guard,
The crowded coasts where various nations move[2],
To judge with skill, and sway in peace, is hard;
By heaven's decree, amidst the briny flood
This isle, to every stranger sacred, stood
A column firm.—O ne'er may rolling time,
Or black misfortune, change the hospitable clime!

[2] *The crowded coasts where various nations move,*
To judge with skill, and sway in peace, is hard.]

The president Montesquieu has the following observation in his Spirit of Laws; 'Platon dit que dans une ville où il n'y a point de commerce maritime, il faut la moitié moins de loix civiles. Et cela est très vrai, le commerce introduit dans une même pays différent sortes de peuples, un grand nombre de conventions, d'especes de biens, et de manières d'acquérir.' De Legibus, lib. viii.

'Ainsi dans une ville commercante il y a moins de juges et plus de Loix.' Esprit de Loix, liv. xx. chap. 18.

There is the following passage in the fourth book of Plato de Legibus, near the beginning: Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιθαλαττία τε ἔμελλεν εἶναι καὶ εὐλίμενον, καὶ μὴ πάμφορος, ἀλλ' ἐπιδεὴς πολλῶν, μεγάλα τινὸς ἔδει σωτῆρός τε αὐτῆ, καὶ νομοθετῶν θειῶν, τινῶν, εἰ μὴ πολλά τε ἔμελλεν ἤθη, καὶ ποικίλα καὶ φαῦλα ἕξειν τοιαύτη φύσει γενομένη.

Montesquieu has most probably mistaken the number of the

ANTISTROPHE II.

Here Dorias' warlike race their reign begun [3];
Here, after Æacus, their empire rose,
Whom potent Neptune, and Latona's son,
The friend, and partner of their labour, chose;
What time with social care, those heavenly powers
Crown'd Ilion's sacred seat with strengthen'd [towers:
For even then the hostile fates decreed
Her ample fanes should fall, her hardy warriors bleed.

EPODE II.

When the massy work was rais'd,
Three azure dragons on the new-made wall
With fury sprung—the people saw amaz'd
Two on the ground expiring fall:
The third with horrid roars the summit gain'd,
When Phœbus thus the fatal sign explain'd:
'O Æacus, the' insulting foe
Shall lay the haughty turrets low,

book he quoted from, which, if the opinion of Voltaire may be taken, he was apt to do. M. Voltaire says, 'Tres pen de lecteurs sont attentifs; on ne s'est point appercu que presque toutes les citations de Montesquieu sont fausses.'

Ægina was an island of the Ægean sea; and, according to the Scholiast, had four hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants.

3 *Here Dorias' warlike race their reign begun.*] The Scholiast informs us, that Peleus and Telamon, having killed their half-brother Phocus, fled; one to Thessalia, the other to Salamis; and Æacus dying at Ægina without a successor, Triacus, an Argive, assembling some of his countrymen who were of the race of the Dorians, invaded the island, and took possession of it.

Which thou hast rear'd with mortal hands:
Ilion, I see thy fate decreed;
And in this omen plainly read
Immortal Jove's commands.

STROPHE III.

'Nor shall without thy race her bulwarks fall [4],
Thy sons at first shall shake the new-form'd state;
The hostile gods thy grandson's offspring call,
To seal its doom, and close the work of fate.'
Thus spoke the god, and straight o'er Xanthus' tide
His skilful hands the heavenly coursers guide,
Till midst the warrior-race his chariot stood
Of Amazonian dames, by Ister's frozen flood.

ANTISTROPHE III.

Immortal Neptune's golden horses now
To sea-beat Isthmus bear his rapid car:
There Æacus on Corinth's lofty brow
They leave, spectator of the sportive war.—

4 *Nor shall without thy race her bulwarks fall.*] It is in the original,

Οὐκ ἄτερ παίδων σέθεν· ἀλ-
λ' ἅμα πρώτοις ἄρξεται
Καὶ τελράτοις.

This is one of the passages of Pindar that is rather obscure. I have followed the common opinion of the Commentators, who suppose πρώτος to allude to Peleus and Telamon, who assisted Hercules in his war against Laomedon: and τελράτος to mean Pyrrhus; who, according to Virgil, slew Priam, and was great grandson to Æacus. Suderius does the same:

——Natus at impias
Invadet arces, hasque multâ
Cæde madens pronepos cremabit.

No bliss alike charms all [5].—The votive lays
Shall envy blast, that chant Melesias' praise?
Whose infant sinews, courting fair renown,
Add to his other wreaths the fam'd Nemean crown.

EPODE III.

After, with manly sinews strong,
He in the great Pancratium won the prize [6]:—
To teach, more surely to the skill'd belong,
Experience fools alone despise:
Full well the hero knows above the rest
To form with precepts sage the manly breast;
To point the surest path that leads
To glorious acts, and daring deeds,

[5] *No bliss alike charms all.*] This is rather an abrupt sentence, and does not seem to arise naturally out of the subject; which, after all that has been said concerning the irregularity of Pindar, is seldom the case with our poet; perhaps never, when he is rightly understood. The original is,

Τερπνὸν δ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἴσον ἔσσεται ἀδύν.

and Sudorius's version,

Res nulla cunctos æquè homines juvat.

The Scholiast says, the ancients were much divided in their opinions concerning this passage; some supposing it to relate to the several ways which Neptune, Apollo, and Æacus went when they parted; some to the different exploits of Alcimedon, Timosthenes, and Melesias.

[6] *He in the great Pancratium won the prize.*] The *Pancratium*, from πᾶν and κράτος, was the most laborious of the athletic exercises Some writers have improperly confounded it with the *Pentathlon*. There is a most accurate account of it in West's Dissertation on the Olympic Games; to which I refer the reader who desires fuller information on the subject.

And future wreaths of fame prepare;
And well his pupil's * fair renown,
Who now has won the thirtieth crown,
Rewards his teacher's care.

STROPHE IV.

By fortune favour'd, nor by manhood less,
Four striplings in the strife he overcame,
Bade infamy their vanquish'd limbs oppress,
And sent them home with foreheads veil'd in shame;
While to his grandsire's hoary head he brings
Triumphant joy, whence health, whence vigour springs;
For he whom fortune fans with prosperous breath,
Forgets the pains of age, and near approach of death.

ANTISTROPHE IV.

Mnemosyne, awake the silver lyre,
Lo! the Blepsiadæ demand the song[7]:
Well their brave brows the flowery bands require,
To whom now six Olympic crowns belong.
Nor will the muse forget the honour'd head,
Though sunk to earth, and number'd with the dead;
The virtuous actions of the good and brave
Shall rouse the sleeping dust, and pierce the silent grave.

7 *Lo! the Blepsiadæ demand the song.*] According to the Scholiast, the Blepsiadæ were a particular tribe in Ægina, to which Alcimedon belonged; all of whom the poet imagines to be interested in the glory of his hero.

* Alcimedon.

EPODE IV.

Iphion midst the' infernal seats [8]
The pleasing news from Hermes' daughter hears;
He to Callimachus the tale repeats,
Who drinks it with exulting ears,
That Jove's supreme behest had deign'd to grace
With Pisa's sacred meed their happy race.
Still may he good on good bestow,
No pallid sickness let them know,
Nor Nemesis their social band
By cursed discord e'er disjoin;
But happy may they ever shine,
To bless their native land!

[8] *Iphion midst the' infernal seats*
The pleasing news from Hermes' daughter hears.]

In the original it is,

Ἑρμᾶ δὲ θυγατρὸς ἀκούσας Ἰφίων
Ἀγγελίας.

There is a singular beauty in personifying Ἀγγελία, and making her daughter to Mercury, which it is impossible to translate; as I know of no English word capable of rendering Ἀγγελία. Sudorius did not find his Latin more happy.

Iphio ut illic Angeliam audiet
Natam volantis Mercuris alitem.

I could also have used the Greek word: but I think it has not at all the happy effect which strikes me so much in the original. The Scholiast says, some suppose Iphion and Callimachus to be simply relations to Alcimedon; others, that they were his father and uncle. I think this passage in the Ode strongly favours the latter opinion:

Παλῃ δὲ παλῃὸς ἐνέπνευσεν μένος
Γήραος ἀντίπαλον.

The address to the grandfather supporting the supposition of his father being dead.

THE

NINTH OLYMPIC ODE,

BY MR. B. GREEN AND MR. PYE.

TO EPHARMOSTUS OF OPUS, ON HIS OLYMPIC AND PYTHIAN VICTORIES.

ARGUMENT.

PINDAR begins the Ode with mentioning the hymn composed by Archilochus, and indiscriminately sung before such of the Olympic victors, as were not fortunate enough to have a poet to celebrate their particular exploits. He then invokes the Muses, to assist him in praising Epharmostus, for his success at Olympia and Pythia, and tells them it requires no common share of genius. He then, speaking of his country, commends him for raising its honour by his skill and success in athletic exercises, and implores the assistance of the Graces; asserting, that no glory can be expected without the aid of the superior powers, by whose help, he says, Hercules was able to oppose Neptune, Apollo, and Pluto. Here he checks himself; reflecting, that it is wrong to sing of any thing that may cast dishonour on the gods; and, describing Deucalion's flood, addresses Epharmostus and the citizens of Opus, as being descendants from him and Pyrrha, by means of their daughter Protogenia, who was carried away by Jupiter, and had a son by him named Opus, who founded the city of that name. Him he celebrates for his hospitality, and, enumerating his

friends, particularly mentions Menœtius. From thence he digresses to the story of his son Patroclus and Achilles attacking Telephus. The poet now, invoking again the Muses, desires to commemorate the victories gained by Epharmostus and his kinsman Lampromachus, and gives an account of their various triumphs; and, asserting the superiority of native over acquired merit, and giving mental accomplishments the preference to all others, he concludes with a compliment to his hero.

STROPHE I.

The lay Archilochus prepar'd [1], the meed
Of every victor on Olympia's sand,
Might have suffic'd, thrice chanted, to precede
Brave Epharmostus and his social band;
But from her bow let each Aönian maid [2]
The glittering shafts of harmony prepare,
The heights of sacred Elis to invade,
Her shady forests, and her pastures fair;

[1] *The lay Archilochus prepar'd, &c.*] The Scholiast tells us, Archilochus composed an Ode on the victory gained by Hercules and Iolaus at Olympia, called Καλλίνικος from the first word in it; its beginning being Ὦ Καλλίνικε, χαῖρε ἄγαξ Ἡράκλεες. This Ode it was customary to sing before every person who gained the prize at Olympia, if he had no poet to compose one purposely for the occasion.

[2] *But from her bow let each Aönian maid*
The glittering shafts of harmony prepare.]

This manner of expression is not uncommon with our poet; he uses it in the second Olympic Ode:

Ἔπεχε νῦν σκοπῷ τόξον,
Ἄγε, θυμέ· τίνα βάλλομεν

Seats sacred still to thunder-bearing Jove, [love.
Which Pelops gain'd, the dower of Hippodamia's [3]

ANTISTROPHE I.

To Pythia too, one dulcet arrow send.—
Nor does the poet humble lays require
That sings the chiefs for glory who contend.—
To princely Opus now the silver lyre

Ἐκ μαλθακᾶς αὖτε φρε-
νὸς εὐκλέας ὀϊστοὺς
Ἱέντες; ἐπί τοι
Ἀκράγαντι τανύσαις,

Come on, thy brightest shafts prepare,
And bend, O Muse, thy sounding bow;
Say, through what paths of liquid air
Our arrows shall we throw?
On Agrigentum fix thine eye;
Thither let all thy quiver fly. *West.*

And a little before in the same Ode:

Πολλά μοι ὑπ' ἀγκῶ-
νος ὠκέα βέλη
Ἔνδον ἐντὶ φαρέτρας
Φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν.

It is surprising that a man of Cowley's genius could give so very puerile a turn as he has to the first quoted passage,

Leave, wanton muse, thy roving flight,
To thy loud string the well-fletch'd arrow put,
Let Agrigentum be the *butt*,
And Theron be the *white*.

3 ———*Hippodamia*———] The learned reader must again forgive me for sacrificing quantity to the genius of our verse and language. I have taken the same liberty afterwards with Protogenia.

Awake, and chant her son's athletic worth.
Opus, where Themis, with her daughter, reigns,
Divine Eunomia.—Mindful of his birth,
He decks the capital of Locris' plains
With every flower on Alpheus' brink that grows,
And every blooming wreath Castalia's cirque
bestows.

EPODE I.

My votive voice, in soothing lays,
Shall sing the much-lov'd city's praise;
And, swifter than the courser scours the plain,
Or the wing'd galley cleaves the yielding main,
Will send the messenger of fame
Through all the' admiring world, her honours to
If haply my assiduous hand [proclaim.
Shall cull the flowers that deck the graces' land.
For every bliss that crowns mankind
Must from the powers superior rise;
And every plan's by them design'd,
That forms the valiant or the wise.

STROPHE II.

Favour'd by them, Alcides' nervous arm [4]
Repell'd the monarch of the briny flood:
Nor did the silver bow his heart alarm,
But, firmly, angry Phœbus' rage he stood;

[4] *Favour'd by them, Alcides' nervous arm.*] The Scholiast gives the following account of this passage: 'These were the causes which induced Hercules to make war with the gods. With Neptune, for assisting the Pylians, whom he attacked for this reason: having killed one Trachinius, and flying on account of the murder, he came to Neleus for his aid in expiating the

Nor could stern Pluto's rod his breast dismay,
Which drives the dying to his drear abodes:—
Rash muse, desist! nor urge the impious lay;
Hateful's the wisdom that blasphemes the gods.—
'Tis madness, strength absurdly thus to boast,
And mortal might compare with heaven's triumphant host.

ANTISTROPHE II.

Let war and discord, with the ills they bring,
Be banish'd distant from the' ethereal train:
Fair Protogenia's new-rais'd city sing [5],
Where, from Parnassus to the level plain,
Deucalion and his mate, descending first,
By Jove's command the rising dome design'd;
While from the stones their living offspring burst [6],
To fill the nations, and renew mankind.—

crime: which being refused him, he made war on the Pylians, whom Neptune assisted, being father to Neleus and Peleas. With Apollo, because, when he consulted his oracle at Pytho, he was told that the god was absent; which enraged him so much, that he carried away the tripod. And with Pluto, on account of his bringing away Cerberus by the command of Eurystheus.'

5 *Fair Protogenia's new-rais'd city sing.*] The city of Opus is here called Protogenia from the daughter of Deucalion.

6 *While from the stones their living offspring burst,*
To fill the nations, and renew mankind.]

This is the original:

———ἄτερ
Δ' εὐνᾶς, ὁμόδαμον
Κτισάσθαν λίθινον γόνον.
Λαοὶ δ' ὀνόμασθεν.

By this means, giving the etymology of the Greek word Λαὸς, *populus*. Sudorius in his version gives the exact sense of Pin-

Let strains like these their pleas'd descendants hear;
Old wine delights the taste, new numbers charm
the ear [7].

EPODE II.

Of old o'er earth's involved head,
The congregated waters spread,
And o'er the wasted country urg'd their course;
Till Jove, relenting, check'd their ruthless force,
And bade their native beds again
The raging waves absorb, and spare the ravag'd plain.
From Pyrrha and Deucalion then
Your sires arose, a hardy race of men.

dar by keeping the Greek word, which could not have been done with propriety in an English translation:

——Jactu lapidum dederunt
Alteram prolem, vocitant et inde
Λαὸν Achivi.

The story of Deucalion and Pyrrha renewing the race of mankind, by throwing stones over their heads, is thus told by Ovid:

Descendunt velantque caput, tunicasque recingunt.
Et jussos lapides sua post vestigia mittunt:
Saxa, (quis hoc credat, nisi sit pro teste vetustas?)
Ponere duritiem cœpere, suumque rigorem;
Mollirique morâ, mollitaque ducere formam.
Ov. Met. l. i.

7 *Old wine delights the taste, &c.*] Perhaps the poet here means to hint to his patron, the advantage he has in having an Ode purposely composed for him, instead of having only the old one, common to all the Olympic conquerors.

Thence your honour'd lineage springs,
The offspring of a god's embrace;
And hence, for ever native kings,
With glory reigns the warlike race.

STROPHE III.

Opus, thy daughter erst Olympic Jove [8]
To shady Mœnalus from Elis bore;
And there compressing with impetuous love,
Restor'd her to her plighted lord * once more,
Her womb then teeming with the heavenly child;
Lest fate his days without a son should claim.
The hero on the foster'd infant smil'd,
Pleas'd with his form, and gave his grandsire's name,
And subjects brave bestow'd, and fair domains;
Whence Opus' lofty walls, and Locris' hardy swains.

ANTISTROPHE III.

Drawn by his virtues, to whose friendly towers,
From Argos, Thebes, and Pisa's fertile plain,
And fair Arcadia, crowd the social powers,
Menœtius, chief among the warrior-train
He lov'd, from Actor and Ægina sprung:
Whose son, when wrong'd Atrides call'd to arms,
Was nobly found the vengeful train among;
Who, when the Greeks from Telephus' alarms [9]

[8] *Opus, thy daughter, &c.*] This means Protogenia, daughter of Deucalion, who is mentioned before; she was married to Locrus, from whom the country took its name. Opus and Deucalion are the same person.

[9] *Who, when the Greeks from Telephus' alarms.*—] Telephus was son of Hercules, and, opposing the Greeks in their

* Locrus.

Found shameful safety on the friendly flood
With Peleus' godlike son, the threatening storm
withstood.

march to Troy, was dangerously wounded by Achilles, and afterwards healed by the rust of the same spear that gave the wound:

Telephus æternâ consumptus tabe perîsset,
Si non quæ nocuit dextra tulisset opem.
Ov. Trist. L. V. El. ii.

As I have mentioned Achilles, I must beg the reader's indulgence for a digression on the story of his being rendered invulnerable, except in the heel, by being dipped in the Styx; which, though it has no foundation in any ancient writer, except Statius, (of whom more hereafter) is yet so generally, and I may say * universally adopted, and has been so often said to be in Homer, that it seems almost maintaining a paradox to contradict it. The editors of the Delphin Classics assert it roundly; see the notes on Virgil's Æneid, l. i. v. 34. Ovid's Metam. l. xii. v. 606. and Horace's Epode xiii. v. 17.

Monsieur Bayle, in his Dictionary, says, speaking of Achilles, 'On a dit qne sa mere l'aiant plongé dans les eaux du Styx pour le rendre invulnerable, ne put procurer cet avantage au talon, parce qu'elle tenoit son fils par là. Fulgence au chapitre 7 du livre, et le Scholiaste d'Horace sur l'ode 13 du livre 5, marquent qu'elle le tint par le talon. Ceux qui disent qu'il mourut d'une blessure au talon, comme Hygin au chapitre 107, et Quintus Calaber au vers 62 du 3 livre, conviennent au fond avec les deux autres. Servius sur le vers 57 du 6 livre de l' Æneide dit en general qu'il etoit invulnerable *exceptâ parte quâ à matre tentus est.*' Bayle, Dict. Art. Achil.

Whatever Servius, Fulgentius, &c. may say, sure I am, that there is no word of Achilles being invulnerable, or dying by a wound in his heel, in any ancient Greek poet, nor in Virgil, Horace, or Ovid; and almost every fable of antiquity is alluded to in some or other of the writings of the last. Homer actually

* I never remember to have seen this notion combated before my first publication of these notes; I have since had the pleasure of seeing it noticed by the learned and ingenious Dr. Beattie. Essay on Poetry and Music, part i. ch. iv.

EPODE III.

From hence the skilful well might find
The' impatience of Patroclus' mind:

gives an account of his being wounded in the hand by Asteropæus, who threw two darts together, one of which was innocent:

Τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ μιν πῆχυν ἐπιῤῥάδδην βάλε χειρὸς
Δεξιτερῆς, σύτο δ' αἷμα κελαινεφές——
Iliad. xxi. 166.

One razed Achilles' hand; the spouting blood
Spun forth——— *Pope.*

Virgil says,

Dardana qui Paridis direxti tela manusque
Corpus in Æacidæ. Æneis, l. vi. 57.

The account of the battle between Cygnus and Achilles, in the twelfth book of Ovid's Metamorphoses, affords a convincing proof that no such fable was extant in Ovid's time. Cygnus tells Achilles, that his own arms are useless, being himself invulnerable, and offers his naked body to his assaults. On the contrary, Achilles, instead of boasting of the same advantage, depends on his shield for security, which is nearly transfixed: (this by the way is a proof that his armour, though a gift of the gods, was not supposed impenetrable, like the enchanted armour of romance:)

———*et æs et proxima rupit*
Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum.

After Cygnus is slain, and the chiefs are talking over the exploits of the day, the having an invulnerable body is considered by them all with the greatest astonishment, and particularly by Achilles.

Hoc ipsum Æacides, hoc mirabantur Achivi.

But Nestor mentions Cæneus as having possessed the same quality formerly, in these remarkable words;

——*vestro fuit unicus ævo*
Contemptor ferri, nulloque (forabilis ictu

Achilles, therefore, with parental care,
Advis'd him ne'er alone to tempt the war.—

Cygnus : at ipse olim patientem vulnera mille
Corpore non læso, Perrhæbum Cænea vidi.

Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis, (or whoever wrote the books ascribed to them) make no mention of Achilles being slain by a wound in the heel, (which could hardly be mortal) 'Quo Alexander, librato gladio procurrens adversus hostem, (*i. e.* Achillem) per utrumque latus geminato ictu transfigit.' Dict. Cret. l. iv. ch. xi. And Dares mentions his being wounded several times, and obliged to quit the field; and describes his death thus: 'Alexander Antilochum, et Achillem, multis plagis confodit.'

Benedictus Aretius, in a comment on the third Pythian Ode, ver. 179.

——— ἐν πολέμῳ
Τόξοις ἀπὸ ψυχὰν λιπὼν,

says; 'Homerus docet ab Alexandro occisum, *i. e.* (Achillem) 'τοξευθεὶς κατὰ τῆς γαςρὸς:' though I can find no such passage in Homer.

I have in my possession a translation of the Iliad into modern Greek, printed at Venice in the year 1526, and to which there is a book added, completing the Trojan war, where the death of Achilles is described in these words:

———Πάρις ἐξοπίσω
Ἰσχυρὸν κρατῶν μὲν τόξον,
Πέμπει ἕνα πικρὸν βέλος
Κατ' αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως,
Καὶ εἰς τὴν πλεύραν τὸν κρέει,
Καὶ ἀπέρασε τὸ βέλος
Εἰς τὸ ἑτερὸν τὸ μέρος.

'Paris from behind, holding a strong bow, sent a sharp (bitter) arrow against Achilles himself, and wounded him in the side: and the arrow passed quite through, and came out at the opposite part.'

The invulnerable story does not seem to have been current at

O could I soar on daring wings,
Where, in her rapid car, the muse exulting sings;

the revival of literature in Europe. I think the following passage in Don Quixote shows Cervantes was ignorant of it, or he would most likely have mentioned it, as it so much resembles the story he introduces: especially as he has brought in an allusion to classical fable.

Don Quixote, speaking of the various miraculous endowments of different knights, says: 'One has the gift of never being enchanted; another to have such impenetrable flesh, as never to be wounded, as was the case of the famous Roldan, one of the twelve peers of France, of whom it is reported, that he was incapable of receiving a wound except in the sole of his left foot; and there it must be made with the point of a large needle, and no other weapon whatever. Therefore, when Bernardo Del Carpio killed him at Roncevalles, seeing it impossible to wound him with steel, he lifted him from the ground in his arms, and strangled him, recollecting the death that Hercules gave to Antæus, that fierce giant, said to be a son of the earth.'

Don Quixote, part iii. book iv. chap. 32.

Even the writers of romance, who were fond of depreciating the heroic character of Achilles, never mentioned his being invulnerable as an advantage he had over Hector; though they represent him as using the assistance of his Myrmidons to destroy him.

I cannot help observing here, the striking difference between the ideas of feudal and heroic honour; much, in my opinion, to the honour of the former. Two of the most respectable writers of antiquity, (Aristotle and Plutarch) censure Homer for not having made Achilles take those measures to destroy Hector, which the writers of romance impute to him, for the purpose of putting his courage in an inferior light to that of his enemy. See Aristotle's Poetics, chap. xiv. and Plutarch's Life of Pompey.

How the idea of Achilles being invulnerable, so contrary to his character as drawn by Homer, who always represents him as preferring glory, attended with certain, and early death, to a long life of tranquillity, should have been so long and so generally conceived to have originated with Homer, and to have been the opinion of the ancient poets, and this without the least

(For ample power, and eager will,
Attend with duteous care her footsteps still;)

shadow of foundation, it is impossible to account for. Statius is the only writer of antiquity from whom it could be derived; but it is something singular that his authority alone should disseminate it so universally. There are two passages in his Achilleid that obviously allude to it.

——Ad Stygios iterum fero mergere fontes.
Stat. Achil. l. i. v. 134.

and

——Si progenitum Stygos amne severo
Armavi, (totumque utinam!) cape tuta parumper
Tegmina, nil nocitura animo.——
Achil. l. i. v. 269.

This long dissertation may perhaps seem trifling to some; but the classical reader I trust will not be displeased to see the hero of Homer, and I may add, of Pindar, (for he always mentions him with particular veneration,) vindicated from the absurdity of having an invulnerable body covered with impenetrable armour. How Statius would have managed this is uncertain, as only two books of his Achilleid are extant. But Homer has taken great care to make Achilles and Hector engage on equal terms, for both are in divine armour: Hector being dressed in the spoils of Patroclus, who wore the arms of Achilles, which Homer says, Iliad. xviii. v. 84. were given by the gods to his father Peleus, on his marriage with Thetis.

Before I quit this subject, I must observe, that there is another hero of the Iliad, who is said to have been invulnerable. Pindar, in his sixth Isthmian Ode, says that Hercules wrapped Ajax, when a child, in the skin of the Nemean lion, and requested Jupiter to make his body as invulnerable as the hide.

Τὸν μὲν ἄῤῥηκτον φυὰν
Ὥσπερ τόδε δέρμα με νῦν περιπλανᾶται
Θηρός.

On which the Annotator on the Oxford Pindar observes, that Ajax was invulnerable in every part, except the sides, where

Thy social worth, and Isthmian prize [10],
Lampromachus, should grace my lay;
When fame beheld two trophies rise,
Congenial, in one rolling day.

the lion's skin did not touch, on account of the intervention of the quiver. Though the Greek Scholiast only supposes it to imply a wish, that the future hero may be as strong, and as intrepid as the animal whose hide he is covered by. Mr. Greene wonders who the Commentator is who has conjured up this tale, and where he purloined the story? To the last of these questions, I believe I can give an answer. It is taken from the Scholia on Homer, though with some alteration, on the following passage of the Iliad, describing the combat between Ajax and Diomed:

Τυδείδης δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ σάκε μεγάλοιο
Αἰὲν ἐπ' αὐχένι κῦρε φαεινῇ δερὸς ἀκωκῇ.
Καὶ τότε δή ῥ' Αἴαντι περιδδείσαντες Ἀχαιοὶ,
Παυσαμένης ἐκέλευσαν ἀέθλια ἷσ' ἀνελέσθαι.

Iliad. l. xxiii. v. 820.

Tydeides then the javelin aim'd above
The buckler's margin, at the neck he drove;
But Greece, now trembling for her hero's life,
Bade share the honours and surcease the strife.

Pope.

The Scholiast observes, that Hercules, happening to be at Salamis just as Ajax was born, took the child, and wrapped him in the lion's hide, and prayed that he might become invulnerable, (ἄτρωτος,) and accordingly all his body became invulnerable, except the neck, which the hide happened not to cover.

Ajax I think is the only hero of any consequence, who is not wounded in the course of the Iliad.

10 *Thy social worth, and Isthmian prize,*
Lampromachus, should grace my lay.]

The Scholia make Lampromachus a kinsman and fellow-citizen of Epharmostus. The elder Scholiast says, that some were of opinion he won the Isthmian crown the same day that his friend

STROPHE IV.

Twice, Epharmostus, too, thy matchless might
Fair Corinth saw, twice Nemea's hallow'd ground:
Argos thy manly brows with glory dight,
And Attica thy youthful forehead crown'd:
What praise thou met'st in Marathon's fam'd course,
Now, scorning with the beardless youth to run,
March'd with the veteran race, thy rapid force,
Temper'd with skill, the silver goblet won;
Shout with exulting voice the friendly train,
To see the loveliest youth the fairest trophies gain.

ANTISTROPHE IV.

Lycæan Jove's high feast with wonder glow'd
As bold Parrhasia's sons thy form behold;
Her prize Pellene on thy strength bestow'd [11],
A guard from warring winds, and wintry cold.
Iolaus' tomb, and fair Eleusis' plain
Wash'd by the briny wave, thy deeds attest.
Though men by labour strive applause to gain,
Yet native merit ever shines the best;
Nor shall the wreaths attain'd by toil and care,
With heaven-descended might, and inborn worth compare.

EPODE IV.

Not every path extends the same,
But various are the roads to fame;

did the Olympic; others, that they were both Isthmian prizes; the younger Scholiast only mentions the last opinion. Indeed it was not likely that the Olympic and Isthmian games should be celebrated at the same time.

[11] *Her prize Pellene*———] The prize in the games celebrated at Pellene was a cloak.

With different eye the same pursuits we view,
Nor all one wish with equal zeal pursue;
But his great fame shall highest soar,
Who climbs the arduous heights of science' sacred [lore.
By which inspir'd, I now proclaim
My hero's heaven-born strength, and native fame;
Who, conqueror on Oïlia's plain,
Bade the bright wreath of victory twine,
Great Ajax, round thy votive fane,
And grac'd with wreaths the hallow'd shrine.

THE

TENTH OLYMPIC ODE,

BY MR. B. GREENE AND MR. PYE.

TO AGESIDAMUS, SON OF ARCHESTRATUS, AN EPIZEPHYRIAN LOCRIAN, ON HIS VICTORY OBTAINED BY THE CÆSTUS.

ARGUMENT.

THE poet begins the Ode by apologizing to Agesidamus, for having so long delayed composing it, after promising to do it. He then compliments him upon his country, and consoles him for being worsted at the beginning of the contest, till encouraged by Ilas, by relating the same circumstance of Hercules and Patroclus. He then describes the institution of the Olympic Games, by Hercules, after the victory he obtained over Angeas, and the sons of Neptune and Molione; and enumerates those who won the first prizes in the athletic exercises. He then, returning to Agesidamus, and congratulating him on having a poet to sing his exploits, though after some delay, concludes with praising him for his strength and beauty.

STROPHE I.

O MUSE, awake the' Olympic lay,
Which to Archestratus' brave son we owe;
The meed I promis'd to bestow,
Oblivion's icy hand had wip'd away:

And thou, O Truth, the favourite maid
Of thundering Jove, vouchsafe thy aid
To quell their slanderous falsehoods, who pretend
I e'er with wilful aim deceiv'd a trusting friend.

ANTISTROPHE I.

Full many an hour has roll'd away
Since shame has made my cheeks with crimson glow,
So long the promis'd meed to owe:
But now the song, with interest, I'll repay [1];
And, as where ocean's billows roar,
They clear from stain the pebbled shore,
So shall the breath of this my friendly strain,
To listening crouds assert my spotless faith again.

EPODE I.

Where, gently fann'd by zephyr's balmy breeze [2],
Fair truth o'er Locris' colony presides;
Her guardian, sweet Calliope, she sees,
While warlike Mars the generous care divides.—

[1] *But now the song, with interest, I'll repay.*] Pindar, having so long delayed sending the Ode, according to his promise, accompanied it with another small one, to atone for his neglect: this is the eleventh Ode; which is from thence called Τόκος, *Interest.*

[2] *Where, gently fann'd by zephyr's balmy breeze,*
Fair truth o'er Locris' colony presides.]

There was a colony of Locrians established in that part of Italy called Magna Græcia: who, from their western situation, were styled Epizephyrian Locrians. Agesidamus was of this colony: the Ode being inscribed in the original, Ἀγεσιδάμῳ, Λόκρῳ Ἐπιζεφυρίῳ.

Bold Cycnus, in the hard-fought field [3],
Forc'd Hercules at first to yield;
Agesidamus, so thy might
Was wavering in the' Olympic fight,
Till, as Achilles' friendly tongue
Patroclus' fainting limbs new strung,
Brave Ilas' words thy drooping spirits fire,
Thy slumbering virtues rouse, and godlike deeds inspire.

STROPHE II.

When emulation warms the breast,
The youth (heaven aiding) matchless fame shall gain;
But few the envied prize obtain
By slothful luxury and lazy rest.

3 *Bold Cycnus, in the hard-fought field,*
Forc'd Hercules at first to yield.]

Hercules making war with Cycnus, the son of Mars (the Cycnus slain by Achilles was a son of Neptune), on account of his cruelty, was at first defeated, though he afterwards overcame and killed him. From this circumstance, and from Patroclus being encouraged by the exhortations of Achilles at the siege of Troy, he consoles Agesidamus for being worsted at the beginning of the conflict, till he assumed fresh strength and spirits from the encouragement of Ilas, his Ἀλείπτης, or Anointer; whose business it was, not only to prepare the combatants for the contest by anointing them, but also to instruct them in the athletic exercises; as appears from what is said of Melesias in the eighth Olympic Ode, who in the title of it is styled Ἀλείπτης, *Unctor.* This Ilas the elder Scholiast calls Iolas; and the younger Scholiast, (and after him Sudorius) Hylus. I have chosen to keep the name as it is in Pindar.

Now custom bids my muse proclaim
Jove's festival and solemn game [4],
With which Alcides honour'd Pelops' shrine,
When Neptune's baffled sons confess'd his power divine.

ANTISTROPHE II.

When his triumphant arm had laid,
O blameless Cteatus! thy glory low;
And bold Eurytus felt the blow,
O'ercome by stratagem in Cleon's glade;
From proud Augeas to obtain
The promis'd meed of toil and pain;
And wreak on Molion's sons the fatal day, [lay.
When stretch'd on Elis' plains his slaughter'd army

EPODE II.

Soon did the faithless king * his fraud repay,
He saw his country's fairest hopes expire;
Saw his exulting cities fall a prey
To vengeful slaughter, and consuming fire;
Saw desolation's iron reign
Extend o'er all his fair domain—
Vain are the' endeavours to withstand
The vengeance of a mightier hand;

4 *Jove's festival and solemn game,*
With which Alcides honour'd Pelops' shrine.]

The poet here gives an account of the first institution of the Olympic Games, by Hercules, after the victory he had obtained over Augeas, and his allies Cteatus and Eurytus, sons of Neptune and Molione; with whom he made war, to obtain the reward promised him by Augeas, and to revenge the loss of his army, which had been before cut to pieces by Cteatus and Eurytus; in which were slain his brother Iphicles, and also Telamon and Calcedon.

* Augeas.

Awhile he rashly tried to'oppose
The forceful entry of his shouting foes;
Till, seeing fell destruction round him wait,
He sought, amid the press, a voluntary fate.

STROPHE III.

On Pisa's plains the son of Jove
Assembled, with their spoils, his conquering band;
And bade for ever sacred stand
To his eternal sire this hallow'd grove;
Bade sacred fences straight surround
The Altis' consecrated ground [5];
Whilst round, the festive seats with splendor gleam,
And crown the verdant brink of Alpheus' honour'd stream.

ANTISTROPHE III.

Alpheus, who, with the' imperial train [6]
Of high Olympus, shares the sacrifice;
Where the Saturnian summits rise,
With site conspicuous from the trophied plain:

[5] *The Altis' consecrated ground.*] The Altis was a grove near the Olympic stadium, sacred to Jupiter; in which were placed the statues of the Olympic conquerors. In West's Dissertation there is a particular account of it.

[6] *Alpheus, who, with the' imperial train*
Of high Olympus, shares the sacrifice.]

In the original it is,

Μετὰ δώδεκ' ἀγάκτων θεῶν.

There were six altars erected by Hercules to twelve of the principal gods: the first was dedicated to Jupiter and Neptune; the second to Juno and Minerva; the third to Mercury and Apollo; the fourth to Bacchus and the Graces; the fifth to Diana and Alpheus; the sixth to Saturn and Rhea.

There, erst when Œnomaus sway'd,
In snow was wrap'd the' unnotic'd glade.
On the first rites propitious smil'd the fates;
And Time, on whom ev'n truth for confirmation waits:

EPODE III.

He, rolling on with never-ceasing course,
To the succeeding race of men declares,
How the rich spoils of war's resistless force
The godlike hero midst his army shares;
And bids the festive games still cheer
Again each fifth-revolving year.—
Who in the contests, now ordain'd,
The first Olympic wreath obtain'd?
Whose coursers in the rattling car,
Or limbs exerted in the sportive war,
Or feet inur'd to urge the rapid race,
Snatch'd from their baffled foes the matchless olive's grace?

STROPHE IV.

On the long Stadium's even course[7],
Œonus, great Licymnius' valiant son,
The prize with active footsteps won,
Who brought from Midia's plains his friendly force:
Resplendent with the wrestler's oil,
Fair victory crown'd the Tegean's * toil:

7 *On the long Stadium's even course.*] The poet here gives the names of the conquerors at the first institution of the Olympic Games, in the six different exercises, *viz.* the Foot-Race; the Pale, or Wrestling; the Cæstus; the Chariot-Race; Darting; and throwing the Discus. For an accurate description of which, see the Dissertation by Mr. West.

* Echemus.

While brave Doryclus, from Tirynthe's shore,
The Cæstus' manly prize from all his rivals bore.

ANTISTROPHE IV.

Conspicuous on his conquering car,
The muse Mantinian Semus' coursers sings;
Phrastor the' unerring javelin flings;
While, by Eniceus' sinews hurl'd, afar
Beyond the rest the discus flies.—
Resound the shores with friendly cries;
While lovely Luna pours her argent light
Full-orb'd, and cheers with rays the gloomy shades
of night.

EPODE IV.

The echoing woods, and vaulted temples round,
Ring with the jocund shouts, and festive strain.
Following their great example, we resound
Their glories who the' Olympic olive gain:
And in the far-resounding verse
The manly victor's praise rehearse,
And tune the hymn to awful Jove;
Who, mid the sapphire plains above,
Bids the bright-gleaming lightning fly,
And darts the thunder through the trembling sky.
Breath'd to soft flutes sweet sounds the lingering lay,
Which, form'd on Dirce's brink, though long de-
fer'd, we pay [8].

[8] ——*form'd on Dirce's brink*——] Dircé was the name of a fountain near Thebes, supposed to have been wife to Lycus, king of Thebes, and transformed into a fountain by Jupiter, after having been torn to pieces by horses, for her cruelty to Antiope.

STROPHE V.

As grateful comes the long-hop'd air;
As to the' expecting sire whom age and pain
To second childhood bend again,
The happy offspring of a legal heir:
The joyful tidings straight impart
New vigour to his sinking heart;
For wealth itself the dying breast offends,
When to a stranger's hand the envied gift descends.

ANTISTROPHE V.

So he who at dread Pluto's gate
Arrives unsung;—though worth and fair renown
His every word and action crown,
What shining honour shall that worth await?
Thy ears, the lyre, the dulcet flute,
Agesidamus! shall salute;
O'er thy fair fame distil mellifluous lays,
And all Pieria's choir afford thee ample praise.

EPODE V.

And on his country too we must bestow
The faithful tribute of a votive verse;
On Locris' race the honied stream shall flow,
While their victorious Son my lays rehearse;
Whom, by Olympia's awful shrine,
My eyes beheld, with strength divine,
In the stern conflict bear away
The envied trophies of the day.
Lovely his form, while youth's soft grace
Shed smiling beauty o'er his face;
Youth's bloom divine, which, join'd to potent love,
The ruthless arm of death from Ganymedes drove.

THE

ELEVENTH OLYMPIC ODE,

BY MR. WEST.

THIS Ode is inscribed to Agesidamus of Locris, who, in the seventh-fourth Olympiad, obtained the victory in the exercise of the Cæstus, and in the class of boys.

The preceding Ode is inscribed to the same person; and in that we learn, that Pindar had for a long time promised Agesidamus an Ode upon his victory, which he at length paid him; acknowledging himself to blame for having been so long in his debt. To make him some amends for having delayed payment so long, he sent him, by way of interest, together with the preceding Ode, which is of some length, the short one that is here translated, and which in the Greek title is for that reason styled Τόκος, or *Interest*.

ARGUMENT.

THE poet, by two comparisons, with which he begins his Ode, insinuates how acceptable to successful merit those songs of triumph are, which gave stability and duration to their fame: then declaring that these songs are due to the Olympic conquerors, he proceeds to celebrate the victory of Agesidamus, and the praises of the Locrians, his countrymen, whom he commends for their having been always reputed a brave, wise,

and hospitable nation: from whence he insinuates, that their virtues being hereditary and innate, there was no more likelihood of their departing from them, than there was of the fox and lion's changing their natures.

STROPHE.

To wind-bound mariners most welcome blow
  The breezy zephyrs through the whistling shrouds:
Most welcome to the thirsty mountains flow
  Soft showers, the pearly daughters of the clouds;
And when on virtuous toils the gods bestow
  Success, most welcome sound mellifluous odes,
Whose numbers ratify the voice of fame,
And to illustrious worth insure a lasting name.

ANTISTROPHE.

Such fame, superior to the hostile dart
  Of canker'd envy, Pisa's chiefs attends.
Fain would my muse the' immortal boon impart,
  The' immortal boon which from high heaven descends,
And now inspir'd by heaven thy valiant heart,
  Agesidamus, she to fame commends:
Now adds the ornament of tuneful praise,
And decks thy olive crown with sweetly-sounding lays.

EPODE.

But while thy bold achievements I rehearse,
  Thy youthful victory in Pisa's sand,
With thee partaking in the friendly verse,
  Not unregarded shall thy Locris[1] stand.

[1] *Locris.*] There were three colonies of Locrians; one of which was in Italy, called from their western situation, the Epizephyrian Locrians, the people here celebrated by Pindar.

Then haste, ye Muses, join the choral band
Of festive youths upon the Locrian plain;
To an uncivilizd and savage land
Think not I now invite your virgin train,
Where barbarous ignorance and foul disdain
Of social virtue's hospitable lore
Prompts the unmanner'd and inhuman swain
To drive the stranger from his churlish door.
A nation shall ye find, renown'd of yore
For martial valour, and for worthy deeds;
Rich in a vast and unexhausted store
Of innate wisdom [2], whose prolific seeds
Spring in each age. So nature's laws require:
And the great laws of nature ne'er expire.
Unchang'd the lion's valiant race remains,
And all his father's wiles the youthful fox retains.

[2] The thought contained in these three verses is rather hinted, than expressed in the original: but how beautiful, or rather how excusable soever such a conciseness may appear in the Greek language, I was afraid the literal translation of this passage would seem too harsh and abrupt to an English reader; and for that reason have endeavoured to draw out and open the sense of Pindar, in this and the two following verses: a liberty which a translator of this author must sometimes take with him, if he would render his translation intelligible, or at least palatable, to the generality of readers.

THE

TWELFTH OLYMPIC ODE,

BY MR. WEST.

THIS Ode is inscribed to Ergoteles, the son of Philanor of Himera, who, in the seventy-seventh Olympiad, gained the prize in the foot-race, called Dolichos, or the long Course.

ARGUMENT.

ERGOTELES was originally of Crete; but being driven from thence by the fury of a prevailing faction, he retired to Himera, a town of Sicily, where he was honourably received, and admitted to the freedom of the city; after which he had the happiness to obtain, what the Greeks esteemed the highest pitch of glory, the Olympic crown. Pausanias says, he gained two Olympic crowns; and the same number in each of the other three sacred games, the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean. From these remarkable vicissitudes of Fortune in the life of Ergoteles, Pindar takes occasion to address himself to that powerful directress of all human affairs, imploring her protection for Himera, the adopted country of Ergoteles. Then, after describing in general terms the universal influence of that deity upon all the actions of mankind, the uncertainty of events, and the vanity of hope, ever fluctuating in ignorance and error, he assigns a reason for that vanity; *viz.* That the gods have not given to mortal men

any certain evidence of their future fortunes, which often happen to be the very reverse both of their hopes and fears. 'Thus (says he) it happened to Ergoteles, whose very misfortunes were to him the occasion of happiness and glory; since, had he not been banished from his country, he had probably passed his life in obscurity, and wasted in domestic broils and quarrels that strength and activity, which his more peaceful situation at Himera enabled him to improve and employ for the obtaining the Olympic crown.'

This Ode, one of the shortest, is, at the same time, in its order and connection, the clearest and most compact of any to be met with in Pindar.

STROPHE.

DAUGHTER of Eleutherian Jove[1],
To thee my supplications I prefer!
For potent Himera my suit I move;
Protectress Fortune, hear!

[1] After the victory obtained at Platæa by the Grecians over Mardonius, the general of Xerxes, the Greeks, to commemorate their delivery from that terrible attack upon their liberty, erected a temple to Jupiter, called upon that occasion Eleutherios, or the guardian of liberty. Why Pindar styles Fortune 'the daughter of Eleutherian Jupiter,' I cannot guess, unless it be to insinuate, that liberty is the true source of prosperity. Some say, that by making Fortune the daughter of Jupiter, Pindar means to let us know, that what we mortals (ignorant of the true causes of all events) style fortune, is really and truly the directing providence of heaven. I could easily admit of this interpretation, had the poet called Fortune simply the daughter of Jupiter; but I am apt to believe, that by adding the epithet Eleutherian to Jupiter, he alluded to some particular circumstances in the worship or mythology of that goddess, unknown to us; to some altar, or perhaps statue, erected to her in the temple of Eleutherian Jove; as such kinds of allusions are fre-

Thy deity along the pathless main
In her wild course the rapid vessel guides;
Rules the fierce conflict on the' embattled plain,
And in deliberating states presides.
Toss'd by thy uncertain gale
On the seas of error sail

quently to be met with in this poet. And indeed, upon further reflection, I cannot help supposing that the people of Himera, in imitation of the Grecians, who erected a temple to Eleutherian Jupiter (as is said above) erected also a temple to Fortune at Himera, in memory of the famous victory obtained by Gelo over the Carthaginians; who, by virtue of an alliance with the Persians, attacked at the same time the Greeks settled in Sicily, and were entirely routed, and all cut to pieces, near this very city of Himera. See Diod. Sic. l. xi. and the Notes on the First Pyth. Ode. In this victory fortune had certainly as great a hand, as in any almost that was ever known; since it was chiefly owing to a lucky circumstance, and the happy success of a stratagem of Gelo; the Carthaginian army being vastly superior to his. I say, I cannot help thinking it probable, that the people of Himera erected upon this occasion a temple, or at least a statue to Fortune, whom they might style the daughter of Eleutherian Jove, to denote the particular deliverance they intended thereby to commemorate; a deliverance from the same danger and the same enemy, as threatened their allies and brethren in Greece. Upon this supposition, Fortune is very properly styled the daughter of Eleutherian Jupiter, as importing the directing providence of that supreme deity, who delivered the Greeks from slavery, according to the allegorical interpretation above mentioned. Whether the four following verses, '*Thy deity along the pathless main,*' &c. may not contain some allusions to some remarkable events of those times, I will not determine. It is plain, however, from Pindar's First Pyth. Ode, that there was a naval victory obtained over the Carthaginians, perhaps no less extraordinary than that gained by Gelo at land: a rudder, however, is an emblem commonly given to Fortune upon medals, &c.

Human hopes, now mounting high
On the swelling surge of joy;
Now with unexpected woe
Sinking to the depths below.

ANTISTROPHE.

For sure presage of things to come
None yet on mortals have the gods bestow'd;
Nor of futurity's impervious gloom
Can wisdom pierce the cloud.
Oft our most sanguine views the' event deceives,
And veils in sudden grief the smiling ray:
Oft, when with woe the mournful bosom heaves,
Caught in a storm of anguish and dismay,
Pass some fleeting moments by,
All at once the tempests fly:
Instant shifts the clouded scene;
Heaven renews its smiles serene;
And on joy's untroubled tides
Smooth to port the vessel glides.

EPODE.

Son of Philanor*! in the secret shade
Thus had thy speed unknown to fame decay'd;
Thus, like the crested bird of Mars†, at home
Engag'd in foul domestic jars,
And wasted with intestine wars,
Inglorious hadst thou spent thy vigorous bloom;
Had not sedition's civil broils
Expell'd thee from thy native Crete,
And driven thee with more glorious toils
The Olympic crown in Pisa's plain to meet.

* Ergoteles. † The cock.

With olive now, with Pythian laurels grac'd,
And the dark chaplets of the Isthmian pine,
In Himera's adopted city [2] plac'd,
To all, Ergoteles, thy honours shine,
And raise her lustre by imparting thine.

[2] *In Himera's adopted city.*] Ergoteles, as I said before, was originally of Crete; but flying from thence, he was honourably entertained at Himera, and admitted to the freedom of the city; in return for which favour he caused himself, upon his obtaining the Olympic crown, to be styled 'of Himera;' signifying that he had now chosen that city for his country. For this reason I have ventured to call Himera his adopted city.

THE

THIRTEENTH OLYMPIC ODE.

BY MR. B. GREENE AND MR. PYE.

TO XENOPHON OF CORINTH, ON HIS VICTORY IN THE STADIC COURSE, AND PENTATHLON, AT OLYMPIA.

ARGUMENT.

THE poet begins his Ode, by complimenting the family of Xenophon, on their successes in the Olympic games, and their hospitality; and then celebrates their country, Corinth, for its good government, and for the quick genius of its inhabitants, in the invention of many useful and ornamental arts. He then implores Jupiter to continue his blessings on them, and to remain propitious to Xenophon; whose exploits he enumerates, together with those of Thessalus and Ptœodorus, his father and grandfather. He then launches out again in praise of Corinth and her citizens, and relates the story of Bellerophon. He then, checking himself for digressing so far, returns to his hero, relates his various success in the inferior games of Greece, and concludes with a prayer to Jupiter.

STROPHE I.

WHILST I rehearse the' illustrious house's praise [1],
Thrice victor in Olympia's sportive war,
To friends and strangers open; let my lays
The fame of happy Corinth bear afar:
Which as a gate to Neptune's Isthmus stands,
Proud of her blooming youth and manly bands;
There, fair Eunomia, with her sister-train,
Bless'd peace and justice, hold their steady reign;
Who wealth and smiling ease on mortals shower,
From Themis' genial care drawing their natal hour.

ANTISTROPHE I.

But bloated insolence and fell disdain
Far from their peaceful seats they drive away.
Now lovely deeds inspire my sounding strain;
And honest boldness swells my rising lay;
When native worth the generous bosoms feel,
'Tis hard the shining virtues to conceal.

[1] ——— *the' illustrious house,*
Thrice victor in Olympia's sportive war.

The poet here alludes to the several prizes gained by Xenophon, his father Thessalus, and his grandfather Ptœodorus; all which are mentioned in the Ode, and not to three prizes won by Xenophon alone, as some Commentators have imagined, making Σταδιεῖ δρόμῳ not to signify one exercise, but two. I leave the precise meaning of these words to be determined by those who are more curious in conjectures of this sort; but I think the poet's intention is put out of all doubt by the expression οἶκον τρισολυμπιονίκαν; which plainly relates to Xenophon's family, and not to himself only.

Corinth, on thee the blooming hours bestow
The envied wreaths from manly deeds that flow;
And teach thy dædal sons with careful heart,
First to explore the way of many a useful art.

EPODE I.

Who bade the bullock sacred bleed
To Bacchus in the Dithyrambic rite?
Who first with reins the generous steed
Directed in his rapid flight?
And bade the sculptur'd bird of Jove[2]
The temple's massy roofs above,

[2] *And bade the sculptur'd bird of Jove*
The temple's massy roofs above,
For ever fix'd on either end,
His ornamental wings extend?]

This is rather an obscure passage, and relates to a particular ornament of the Grecian temple, *viz.* the Aëtoma, or figure of an eagle placed there, the invention of which the poet here ascribes to the Corinthians. The Scholiast adds, it was called double, from its form; or rather from there being one placed at each end of the temple; Δίδυμος δὲ φησὶν, ὅτι διπλᾶ τὰ ἀετώματα τὰ ὄπισθεν καὶ ἔμπροσθεν. Sudorius only differs from me by placing it within the temple; and perhaps he is in the right, as the word in the original is, ἔνθηκ';

———*vel intra,*
Templa aquilæ speciem locavit?

I have seen a Latin comment on Pindar, which supposes ἀέτωμα to mean a part of the temple itself, and to be so called, from its extending on each side, as an eagle does its wings. 'Sciendum est ἀέτωμα locum et partem templi fuisse, ita dictam, quæ ἀέτος etiam dicta est, propterea quòd in modum aquilæ extendentis alas formata esset.' Comment. in Pind. auctore Benedicto Aretio Bernensi, p. 189. It will readily occur to the reader, that a part of our churches is now called the *ail*, from the same circumstance.

For ever fix'd on either end,
His ornamental wings extend?
While the sweet muse her silver sounds inspires,
And Mars with glorious flame the warrior's bosom
fires.

STROPHE II.

Olympia's honour'd patron! potent Jove!
Whose sovereign mandates o'er the world extend,
O with propitious ear my strain approve,
And, to fair Corinth's virtuous sons a friend,
On Xenephon let gales propitious breathe,
And take with hand benign the victor wreath
He won: surpassing, when on Pisa's shore [3],
What mortal valour had perform'd before;

[3 *Surpassing, when on Pisa's shore,*
What mortal valour had perform'd before;
The stadic course re-echo'd his renown,
And with knit limbs he gain'd the Pentathletic crown.]

The mention only of two prizes here, confirms, I think, my opinion of the passage spoken of in the first note. The Pentathlon consisted of five different exercises, *viz.* Leaping, Running, Quoiting, Darting, and Wrestling; thus expressed in a Greek epigram:

Ἴσθμια καὶ Πυθοὶ Διοφῶν ὁ Φίλωνος ἐνίκα,
Ἅλμα, Ποδωκείην, Δίσκον, Ἀκόντα, Πάλην.
Anthologia, l. 1. cap. 1. epig. 8.

What made it so extraordinary for the Pentathlete to succeed in any of the other exercises, was the great application, and strict and peculiar regimen, necessary to be observed in the attaining perfection in any one of the gymnastic exercises; which care the Pentathlete was obliged to divide amongst so many. Plato confirms this in his Ἐραστὰ; where he makes Socrates answer to a person who affirms philosophy to consist in a general know-

The Stadic course re-echo'd his renown,
And with knit limbs he gain'd the Pentathletic
crown.

ANTISTROPHE II.

And twice conspicuous on the trophied course
The Isthmian parsley grac'd his victor-brow [4];
Nor Nemea's cirque contemn'd the hero's force.—
And where the sacred waves of Alpheus flow

ledge: Δοκεῖς γάρ μοι λέγειν, οἷον ἐν τῇ ἀγωνίᾳ εἰσιν οἱ Πένταθλοι πρὸς τὰς δρομέας, ἢ τὰς πελταστάς. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τούτων μὲν λείπονται κατὰ τὰ τούτων ἆθλα, καὶ δεύτεροι εἰσὶ πρὸς τούτους· τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀθλητῶν πρῶτοι, καὶ νικῶσιν αὐτούς. 'You seem to speak of a person like the Pentathlete; who, when matched with a runner, or darter, in their own particular exercises, is always inferior, though he may be the first among the other Athletes (*i. e.* those of his own profession) and overcome them.' Longinus has also a passage much to the same purpose; when, comparing Hyperides with Demosthenes, he mentions the various merits of the former, and says, 'He bears the second rank in almost every thing, like a Pentathlete; who, though he may be inferior to those who hold the first estimation in their several particular exercises, yet excels all others of the same class with himself:' Ὡς ὁ Πένταθλος, ὥστε τῶν μὲν πρωτείων ἐν ἅπασι τῶν ἄλλων ἀγωνισῶν λείπεσθαι, πρωτεύειν δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν.

4 *The Isthmian parsley grac'd his victor brow.*] The prizes in the four sacred games are enumerated in the following line:

Ἆθλα δὲ τῶν Κότινος, Μῆλα, Σέλινα, Πίτυς.

The latter of which, *i. e.* a garland made of the leaves of the wild pine, was the reward given in the Isthmian games. But Pindar's Scholiast informs us, that σέλινα, the parsley, was also sometimes given at the Isthmian games, as well as the Nemean; only with this difference, that the Isthmian parsley was dried,

His father Thessalus the olive wore
By swiftness gain'd, and since on Pythia's shore,
One sun beheld his might, mid wondering eyes
Obtain the Stadic, and Diaulic prize [5];
And the same month, to grace his lovely brow,
The third triumphal wreath did Attica bestow.

EPODE II.

Seven times Hellotia crown'd his force,
And since on Isthmus' sea-encircled plain,
Victors in Neptune's sacred course,
He and his sire the prize obtain.
The swelling joy, the sounding song,
Still follow as they go along;
What wreaths! what honours! too, they bore
From Pythia's, and from Nemea's shore!—
He who recounts their various crowns, as well
May number all the sands where ocean's billows swell.

STROPHE III.

Some medium though will every praise beseem,—
Which 'tis the first of wisdom still to know.—
While, with no alien voice, the much-lov'd theme
The fame of Corinth from my lips shall flow;
And I her chiefs, and prudent sires rehearse,
No sounds fallacious shall disgrace my verse.

and the Nemean green. The third question of the fifth book of Plutarch's Symposiacs assigns the reasons for changing the pine branch for the parsley, and afterwards restoring the pine again.

5 ——*Diaulic prize.*] The Diaulus was a foot-race twice the length of the Stadic, consisting of two stadia, as that did of one stadium.

There Sisyphus arose, whose wiles could shine
With matchless force and lustre near divine;
Medea[6] there, whom Venus' flames inspire
The Grecian ship to save, and cheat her cruel sire.

ANTISTROPHE III.

When warr'd the Greeks on Phrygia's hostile [strand,
On either side her sons embattled stood,
Though to bear Helen from the' ill-fated land,
Her warriors with the' Atridæ cross'd the flood;
Yet some, who those with vengeful spears repell'd
From Corinth's race their honour'd lineage held;
For Lycian Glaucus to the' Achaian host[7],
Trembling before his lance, would often boast
His sire's abode, and wealth, and wide domain,
Where fair Pirene's waves enrich the fertile plain.

6 ———*Medea*———] Aloes, and Ætes the father of Medea, were sons of Apollo and Antiope: and Apollo gave Arcadia to Aloes, and Corinth to Ætes; who, not being satisfied with his dominion, went and settled at Colchis in Scythia.

7 *For Lycian Glaucus to the' Achaian host,*
Trembling before his lance, would often boast
His sire's abode, and wealth, and vast domain,
Where fair Pirene's waves enrich the fertile plain.]

Glaucus was king of Lycia, great great grandson to Bellerophon; though Pindar says Πατρὸς ἀρχὰν, κ. τ. λ. He was an ally of Priam's at the siege of Troy. In Homer, he gives an account of his whole lineage, and the story of Bellerophon, at large, in his speech to Diomedes, in the sixth Iliad. It is too long to insert here.

EPODE III.

Who by the silver fountain's side
Much labour found, and much affliction knew,
While winged Pegasus he tried
Medusa's offspring to subdue;
'Till, sleeping on his native plains,
Minerva gave the golden reins;
'Awake, Æolian king! awake!
This sacred gift with transport take;
Show it to Neptune, potent god of steeds,
While at his hallow'd shrine the votive bullock bleeds.'

STROPHE IV.

The Ægis-bearing maid Minerva spoke,
While midnight slumbers clos'd his heavy eyes;
Straight from the dull embrace of sleep he broke,
And seiz'd with eager hand the glittering prize:
Cæranus' son he sought, the neighbouring seer,
And pour'd the wondrous tidings in his ear;
That, as in awful Pallas' holy fane,
Sleep o'er his temples spread her leaden reign,
Before him stood confess'd the warlike maid,
And by his side at once the golden bridle laid.

ANTISTROPHE IV.

The wondering augur bade him straight obey
Each mystic mandate of the dream divine;
To Neptune first the votive bullock pay,
Then to equestrian Pallas rear a shrine:
Beyond his hopes the gods with favouring will
The object of his wishes soon fulfil;
For brave Bellerophon, with joyful look,
The sacred present of the' immortals took;

Threw it with ease about his arching head,
And peaceful in his hand the' ethereal courser led.

EPODE IV.

Now, shining in refulgent arms,
The winged Pegasus his limbs bestrode;
And, seeking war's severe alarms,
To Amazonia's plains he rode;
And, 'midst the chilling reign of frost,
O'ercame the female archer-host.
His arms Chimera's flames subdue;
The dauntless Solymi he slew.—
I pass the death his cruel fate decreed, [steed.
When Jove's eternal stalls receiv'd the' immortal

STROPHE V.

While thus the shafts of harmony I throw [8],
Let me not aim too wide with erring hand;
The muses now command the strain to flow
To Oligæthidæ's triumphant band [9];
Recount the early praise and young renown,
On Isthmus' and on Nemea's cirque they won;

[8] *While thus the shafts of harmony I throw.*] This is another instance of that manner of expression I have taken notice of, in the note upon the fifth line of the ninth Ode.

[9] *To Oligæthidæ's triumphant band.*] The Oligæthidæ were a tribe, or division of the people, at Corinth, to which Xenophon belonged. The Scholiast says, the number of their prizes was equal in each of the games, *viz.* thirty in the Isthmian, and thirty in the Nemean. Ἑξηκοντάκις γὰρ ἀμφότεροι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, Ἰσθμίοις καὶ Νεμέοις, ἀνεκηρύχθησαν οἱ Ὀλιγαιθίδαι, τριάκοντα ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἀγῶνι.

In verse concise stupendous deeds display,
And with an oath confirm the wondrous lay;
On either course alike their skill was fam'd,
For sixty victor-wreaths the herald's voice proclaim'd.

ANTISTROPHE V.

How oft their brows the' Olympic olive grac'd,
To fame already have my numbers given;
What future crowns shall on their heads be plac'd,
Though we may hope, is only known to heaven:
Yet if new strifes their genius bids them prove,
We trust the' event to Mars, and mighty Jove.
Oft from Parnassus' heights [10] the meed they bore,
And Argos' fields, and Thebes' resounding shore;
And in Lycæan Jove's imperial fane
Recorded stand their toils on fair Arcadia's plain.

EPODE V.

Pellene's fields, and Sicyon's coast;
Megara, and the Æacides' domain;
Eleusis' cirque, and freedom's boast,
Fair Marathon's triumphant plain;

[10] *Oft from Parnassus' heights, &c.*] The poet here, as in several of his other Odes, enumerates the exploits of his patron and his family, in those inferior festivals which were held in almost every city throughout Greece; and where the same exercises were performed, though the prizes were not so honourable as in the four principal ones, *viz.* the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian: which were called by way of eminence, *sacred.* A list of these festivals, with the occasion of them, and the places where they were held, may be found in the twentieth chapter of the first volume of Potter's Grecian Antiquities.

Proud Ætna, and Eubœa green,
Have their victorious trophies seen.
Through Grecia's realms their large amount
Of wreaths, in vain the muse would count.—
Assist, immortal Jove! my soaring lays,
And crown with honour'd ease my calm-revolving
days.

THE

FOURTEENTH OLYMPIC ODE,

BY MR. WEST.

THIS Ode is inscribed to Asopichus, the son of Cleodemus of Orchomenus; who, in the seventy-sixth Olympiad, gained the victory in the simple foot-race, and in the class of boys.

ARGUMENT.

ORCHOMENUS, a city of Bœotia, and the country of the victor Asopichus, being under the protection of the Graces, her tutelary deities, to them Pindar addresses this Ode; which was probably sung in the very temple of those goddesses, at a sacrifice offered by Asopichus on occasion of his victory. The poet begins this invocation with styling the Graces, queens of Orchomenus, and guardians of the children of Minyas, the first king of that city; whose fertile territories, he says, were by lot assigned to their protection. Then, after describing in general the properties and operations of those deities, both in earth and heaven, he proceeds to call upon each of them by name to assist at the singing of this Ode; which was made, he tells them, to celebrate the victory of Asopichus, in the glory of which Orchomenus had her share. Then addressing himself to Echo, a nymph that formerly resided on the

banks of Cephisus, a river of that country, he charges her to repair to the mansion of Proserpine, and impart to Cleodemus, the father of Asopichus (who from hence appears to have been dead at that time) the happy news of his son's victory, and so concludes.

MONOSTROPHIC.

STROPHE I.

Ye powers o'er all the flowery meads,
Where deep Cephisus rolls his lucid tide,
Allotted to preside,
And haunt the plains renown'd for beauteous steeds,
Queens of Orchomenus the fair,
And sacred guardians of the ancient line
Of Minyas divine,
Hear, O ye Graces, and regard my prayer!
All that's sweet and pleasing here
Mortals from your hands receive:
Splendor ye and fame confer,
Genius, wit, and beauty give.
Nor, without your shining train,
Ever on the' ethereal plain
In harmonious measures move
The celestial choirs above:
When the figur'd dance they lead,
Or the nectar'd banquet spread.
But with thrones immortal grac'd,
And by Pythian Phœbus plac'd,

[1] *By Pythian Phœbus plac'd.*] Pindar, in this passage, alludes to some statues of these goddesses placed in the temple of Delphi, near the statue of Apollo. Apollo in some pictures

Ordering through the bless'd abodes
All the splendid works of gods,
Sit the sisters in a ring,
Round the golden-shafted king:
And with reverential love
Worshipping the' Olympic throne,
The majestic brow of Jove
With unfading honours crown.

STROPHE II.

Aglaia, graceful virgin, hear!
And thou, Euphrosyna, whose ear
Delighted listens to the warbled strain!
Bright daughters of Olympian Jove,
The best, the greatest power above;
With your illustrious presence deign [2]

was represented as holding the Graces in his right hand, and his bow and arrows in his left; to signify, says Macrobius, that the divinity is more inclined to save, than to destroy. The allegory contained in this beautiful passage of Pindar, is as noble and sublime, as any to be met with in all antiquity.

[2] From this passage, and some expressions up and down this Ode, I conclude it was sung in the temple of the Graces (as I said in the argument) at the time when Asopichus, having entered Orchomenus in triumph, was come to return thanks to those goddesses, by whose assistance, (as Pindar says in this very Ode,) he and his country Orchomenus had obtained the honour of an Olympic victory. I look upon this Ode, therefore, as a kind of hymn or thanksgiving song; in which light if we consider it, we shall not be surprised to find so little mention made of Asopichus, on the occasion of whose victory it was composed. The not knowing, or not reflecting upon such circumstances as these, as well as a thousand others, of places, times, and persons, has, I am persuaded, caused Pindar to be charged, more than he ought to have been, with obscurity, digressing too long, and wandering too far from his subject. I will not undertake to

To grace our choral song!
Whose notes to victory's glad sound
In wanton measures lightly bound.
  Thalia, come along!
Come, tuneful maid, for lo! my string
With meditated skill prepares
In softly soothing Lydian airs
  Asopichus to sing;
Asopichus, whose speed by thee sustain'd
The wreath for his Orchomenus obtain'd.
Go then, sportive Echo, go [3],
To the sable dome below,
Proserpine's black dome, repair,
There to Cleodemus bear
Tidings of immortal fame:
Tell, how in the rapid game
O'er Pisa's vale his son victorious fled;
  Tell, for thou saw'st him bear away
  The winged honours of the day [4];
And deck with wreaths of fame his youthful head.

justify him in every point. He had a great and warm imagination; but it must be allowed at the same time, that he was a man of sense.

3 Echo was a nymph, that had her residence on the banks of Cephisus, a river that ran by Orchomenus. Pindar, therefore, could not have chosen a more proper person to send to Cleodemus with the tidings of his son's victory, than her, who, being in the neighbourhood of Orchomenus, had heard and repeated them a thousand times.

4 *The winged honours, &c.*] The words in the original are

Ἐςεφάνωσε κυδίμων ἀέθλων
πτεροῖσι χαίταν,

Coronaverit inclytorum certaminum alis cæsariem.

The Scholiasts, and from them all the Annotators, say, that

πτεροῖσι (which literally signifies wings) is used in this place figuratively to denote the Olympic crowns; whose property, say they, it is to elevate, like wings, and raise the glory of the conquerors. But this, in my opinion, is a figure too bold and extravagant even for Pindar himself. I rather think the word πτεροῖσι, wings, should be here taken in its literal signification; as I imagine from this passage and one in Plutarch, which I have considered in another place, that to the Olympic crowns, &c. were superadded some emblematical ornaments, to distinguish perhaps the victors in the several kinds of exercises; or to denote in general their constancy and perseverance. Wings were the usual emblem of swiftness, and might therefore have been very properly worn by the conquerors in the foot-race; of which number was this Asopichus, to whom Pindar inscribed the present Ode.

The epithet youthful, in the next verse, is used with great propriety, since it appears by the Greek inscription or title of this Ode, that Asopichus was a boy; and that he obtained the victory in the class of boys (a circumstance not taken notice of by any of the Annotators or Scholiasts) is evident for this reason, *viz.* Had he gained the victory in the class of men, his name would have been found in the register of Olympic conquerors, from whom the several Olympiads were denominated; whereas to that Olympiad, in which he is said to have gained the victory, is annexed the name of Dandes Argivus. See Chron. Olymp. prefixed to the Oxford edition of Pindar.

THE

FIRST PYTHIAN ODE,

BY MR. WEST.

THIS Ode is inscribed to Hiero of Ætna, king of Syracuse, who, in the twenty-ninth Pythiad (which answers to the seventy-eighth Olympiad) gained the victory in the chariot race.

ARGUMENT.

THE poet, addressing himself in the first place to his harp, launches out immediately into a description of the wonderful effects produced in heaven by the enchanting harmony of that divine instrument, when played upon by Apollo, and accompanied by the Muses: these effects (says he) are to celestial minds delight and rapture; but the contrary to the wicked, who cannot hear, without horror, this heavenly music. Having mentioned the wicked, he falls into an account of the punishment of Typhœus, an impious giant; who, having presumed to defy Jupiter, was by him cast into Tartarus, and then chained under Mount Ætna, whose fiery eruptions he ascribes to this giant, whom he therefore styles 'Vulcanian monster.' The description of these eruptions of Mount Ætna he closes with a short prayer to Jupiter, who had a temple upon that mountain; and from thence passes to, what indeed is more properly the subject of this Ode, the Pythian victory

of Hiero. This part of the poem is connected with what went before by the means of Ætna, a city built by Hiero, and named after the mountain in whose neighbourhood it stood. Hiero had ordered himself to be styled 'of Ætna' by the Herald who proclaimed his victory in the Pythian games; from which glorious beginning, (says Pindar) the happy city presages to herself all kinds of glory and felicity for the future. Then addressing himself to Apollo, the patron of the Pythian games, he beseeches him to make the citizens of Ætna great and happy; all human excellencies being the gifts of heaven. To Hiero, in like manner, he wishes felicity and prosperity for the future, not to be disturbed by the return or remembrance of any past afflictions. The toils indeed and troubles which Hiero had undergone, before he and his brother Gelo obtained the sovereignty of Syracuse, having been crowned with success, will doubtless, says Pindar, recur often to his memory with great delight: and then taking notice of the condition of Hiero, who (it seems,) being at that time troubled with the stone, was carried about in the army in a litter, or chariot, he compares him to Philoctetes: this hero having been wounded in the foot by one of Hercules's arrows, staid in Lemnos to get cured of his wound; but it being decreed by the fates, that Troy should not be taken without those arrows, of which Philoctetes had the possession, the Greeks fetched him from Lemnos, lame and wounded as he was, and carried him to the siege. As Hiero resembles Philoctetes in one point, may he also (adds the poet) resemble him in another, and recover his health by the assistance of a divinity. Then addressing himself to Dinomenes, the son of Hiero, whom that prince intended to make king of Ætna, he enters into an account of the colony which Hiero had settled in that city: the people of this colony, being originally descended from Sparta, were, at their own request, governed by the laws of that famous commonwealth. To this account Pindar subjoins a prayer to Jupiter, imploring him to grant that both the king and people of Ætna may, by answerable deeds, maintain the glory and splendor of their race; and that Hiero, and his son Dinomenes, taught to govern by the precepts of his father, may be able to dispose their minds to peace and unity. For this purpose (continues he) do thou, O

Jupiter! prevent the Carthaginians and the Tuscans from invading Sicily any more, by recalling to their minds the great losses they had lately sustained from the valour of Hiero and his brothers; into a more particular detail of whose courage and virtue, Pindar insinuates he would gladly enter, was he not afraid of being too prolix and tedious; a fault which is apt to breed in the reader satiety and disgust; and though, continues he, excessive fame produces often the same effects in envious minds, yet do not thou, O Hiero! upon that consideration, omit doing any great or good action; it being far better to be envied than to be pitied. With this, and some precepts useful to all kings in general, and others more peculiarly adapted to the temper of Hiero, whom, as he was somewhat inclined to avarice, he encourages to acts of generosity and munificence, from the consideration of the fame accruing to the princes of that character, and the infamy redounding to tyrants, he concludes; winding up all with observing, that the first of all human blessings consists in being virtuous; the second in being praised; and that he, who has the happiness to enjoy both these at the same time, is arrived at the highest point of earthly felicity.

DECADE I.

HAIL, golden lyre [1]! whose heaven-invented string
To Phœbus, and the black-hair'd nine belongs;
Who in sweet chorus round their tuneful king
Mix with their sounding chords their sacred songs.

[1] *Hail, golden lyre!*] Several reasons may be assigned for Pindar's addressing himself to the harp; as first, the harp belonged in a particular manner to Apollo, the inventor of that instrument, as is intimated in the following verses. Secondly, the Pythian games, in which Hiero obtained the victory here celebrated by Pindar, were consecrated to that god. Thirdly, Hiero himself was not unskilled in that instrument, as may be collected from what Pindar says of him in his first Olympic Ode, Antistrophe I. Besides which, the Scholiast furnishes us with another reason from the historian Artemon, who says,

The dance, gay queen of pleasure, thee attends;
Thy jocund strains her listening feet inspire:
And each melodious tongue its voice suspends
'Till thou, great leader of the heavenly quire,
With wanton art preluding giv'st the sign—
Swells the full concert then with harmony divine.

DECADE II.

Then, of their streaming lightnings all disarm'd,
The smouldring thunderbolts of Jove expire:
Then, by the music of thy numbers charm'd,
The bird's fierce monarch * drops his vengeful ire;
Perch'd on the sceptre [2] of the' Olympian king,
The thrilling darts of harmony he feels;
And indolently hangs his rapid wing,
While gentle sleep his closing eyelid seals;

that Hiero had promised Pindar to make him a present of a golden harp, of which promise the poet intending cunningly to remind him, chose, in addressing himself to the harp, to make use of the epithet 'golden.' But this account, as the same Scholiast intimates, is rather ingenious than true; since the Pythian games being consecrated to Apollo, made it extremely proper in Pindar to begin an Ode, occasioned by a victory in those games, with praising that instrument of which their patron was the inventor, as was before observed. And as to the epithet 'golden,' it is so frequently used by the poets in a figurative sense, to express the excellence and value of the thing to which it is joined, that it cannot be concluded that it ought in this place to be taken literally.

[2] *Perch'd on the sceptre.*] If Pindar did not take this circumstance of the eagle's perching on the sceptre of Jupiter from some statue or picture of that god, we may venture to affirm that Phidias, in all probability, borrowed it from Pindar; since,

* The eagle.

And o'er his heaving limbs in loose array
To every balmy gale the ruffling feathers play.

DECADE III.

Ev'n Mars, stern god of violence and war,
Soothes with thy lulling strains his furious breast,
And driving from his heart each bloody care,
His pointed lance consigns to peaceful rest.
Nor less enraptur'd each immortal mind
Owns the soft influence of enchanting song,
When, in melodious symphony combin'd,
Thy son, Latona, and the tuneful throng
Of Muses, skill'd in wisdom's deepest lore,
The subtle powers of verse and harmony explore.

DECADE IV.

But they, on earth, or the devouring main,
Whom righteous Jove with detestation views,
With envious horror hear the heavenly strain,
Exil'd from praise, from virtue, and the muse.

in the description which Pausanias has given us of the famous statue of Jupiter at Olympia, made by that eminent statuary, we find an eagle represented sitting upon his sceptre. Poets, painters, and statuaries, often took hints from one another; and Phidias in particular is said to have acknowledged, that he borrowed the idea of the majestic countenance of Jupiter, so remarkable in that inimitable statue, from a passage in Homer; which makes it reasonable to suppose, that he copied this circumstance of the eagle from Pindar, a poet no less famous in Lyric poetry, than Homer in Epic.

Such is Typhœus[3], impious foe of gods,
Whose hundred-headed form Cilicia's cave
Once foster'd in her infamous abodes;
'Till daring with presumptuous arms to brave

3 *Such is Typhœus, &c.*) I shall not trouble the reader with the many different accounts of this fabulous giant, whom (with the historian Artemon, and Pindar's Scholiast, who derives his name from τύφειν, signifying to burn) I take to be an allegorical personage, invented by the poets to denote the unknown cause of those fiery eruptions, which proceeded from several mountains in different parts of the earth; each of which, says Artemon, is supposed to be set on fire by Typhœus. According to which notion he is, a little lower, styled by Pindar a Vulcanian monster,

who to the clouds
The fiercest, hottest inundations throws.

Thucydides, at the end of his third book, makes mention of three eruptions of Mount Ætna, the last of which, he says, happened in the third year of the 88th Olymp. the former about fifty years before; that is, in the last year of the 76th, or first year of the 77th Olymp. Of the date of the first eruption he makes no mention. Probably no more was known in his time about it, than that it was the first, and the only one, besides the two above mentioned, that had happened from the time of the Greeks first settling in Sicily, as he expressly tells us. This Ode was composed in the 78th Olymp. about four or five years after the second eruption mentioned by Thucydides. The city of Ætna, founded on the ruins of Catana, was built by Hiero in the 76th Olymp. and stood in the neighbourhood of Mount Ætna, from which it derived its name. From all these considerations it appears, with how much propriety Pindar hath here introduced a description of the fiery eruptions of that burning mountain; one of which having happened so lately as four or five years before the writing of this Ode, could not but be very fresh in the memories of the inhabitants of the city of Ætna, whose territories, and even the town itself, were in great danger of being laid waste and destroyed by the torrents of fire which

The might of thundering Jove, subdued he fell,
Plung'd in the horrid dungeon of profoundest hell.

DECADE V.

Now under sulphurous Cuma's sea-bound coast
And vast Sicilia, lies his shaggy breast;
By snowy Ætna, nurse of endless frost,
The pillar'd prop of heaven, for ever press'd:
Forth from whose nitrous caverns issuing rise
Pure liquid fountains of tempestuous fire,
And veil in ruddy mists the noon-day skies,
While wrapt in smoke the eddying flames aspire,
Or gleaming through the night with hideous roar
Far o'er the reddening main huge rocky fragments pour.

DECADE VI.

But he, Vulcanian monster, to the clouds
The fiercest, hottest inundations throws,
While with the burden of incumbent woods,
And Ætna's gloomy cliffs, o'erwhelm'd he glows,
There on his flinty bed outstretch'd he lies,
Whose pointed rock his tossing carcase wounds;
There with dismay he strikes beholding eyes,
Or frights the distant ear with horrid sounds.

issued from the neighbouring mountain, or by the earthquakes that usually attended those eruptions. With the same propriety therefore he closes his description with a prayer to Jupiter, who had a temple on Mount Ætna, imploring his favour and protection. The other beauties of this fine passage are so visible and striking, that I need not point them out to the judicious reader. I shall only observe, that Pindar is the first poet, that has given us a description of those fiery eruptions of Mount Ætna; which, from Homer's having taken no notice of so extraordinary a phœnomenon, is supposed not to have burnt before his time.

O save us from thy wrath, Sicilian Jove!
Thou, that here reign'st, ador'd in Ætna's sacred grove.

DECADE VII.

Ætna, fair forehead of this fruitful land!
Whose borrow'd name adorns the royal town
Rais'd by illustrious Hiero's generous hand,
And render'd glorious with his high renown.
By Pythian heralds were her praises sung,
When Hiero triumph'd in the dusty course,
When sweet Castalia with applauses rung,
And glorious laurels crown'd the conquering horse.
The happy city for her future days
Presages hence increase of victory and praise.

DECADE VIII.

Thus when the mariners to prosperous winds,
The port forsaking, spread their swelling sails;
The fair departure cheers their jocund minds
With pleasing hopes of favourable gales,
While o'er the dangerous deserts of the main,
To their lov'd country they pursue their way.
Ev'n so, Apollo, thou, whom Lycia's plain,
Whom Delus, and Castalia's springs obey,
These hopes regard, and Ætna's glory raise
With valiant sons, triumphant steeds, and heavenly lays!

DECADE IX.

For human virtue from the gods proceeds;
They the wise mind bestow'd, and smooth'd the tongue
With elocution, and for mighty deeds
The nervous arm with manly vigour strung.

All these are Hiero's; these to rival lays
Call forth the bard: arise then, muse, and speed
To this contention; strive in Hiero's praise,
Nor fear thy efforts shall his worth exceed;
Within the lines of truth secure to throw [4],
Thy dart shall still surpass each vain attempting foe.

DECADE X.

So may succeeding ages, as they roll,
Great Hiero still in wealth and bliss maintain,
And joyous health recalling, on his soul [5]
Oblivion pour of life-consuming pain.

[4] The metaphor here made use of by Pindar, is borrowed from one of the five exercises of the Pentathlon, *viz.* Darting, in which he who threw his dart furthest, within certain lines, or limits, was deemed the conqueror; as he, whose dart wandered beyond those lines, lost the victory. See Dissertation.

[5] The works of the greatest part of the Sicilian historians being lost, the accounts we have of Hiero, and the affairs of Sicily in his time, are so short and defective, that we must content ourselves with what lights the Scholiast of Pindar furnishes us with, for the illustration of this and some other passages in this Ode. Pindar has inscribed no less than four Odes to Hiero, *viz.* the first Olympic Ode, and first, second, and third Pythian Odes. In each of which, however, are many passages not sufficiently cleared up by the Scholiast: for instance, in the first Olympic Ode, written upon occasion of a victory obtained by Hiero in the seventy third Olymp. (if the date be right) Hiero is styled king; and yet it is certain that he did not succeed to the throne of Syracuse, till after the death of his brother Gelo, which happened in the 75th Olymp. It should seem therefore, from what Pindar says, that he was king of some other city of Sicily, while his brother reigned in Syracuse: but of this we have no account, neither from history, nor from the Scholiast. In the same ignorance and uncertainty are we left with regard to the times, circumstances, and persons alluded to in this and the following stanza. We may however venture to determine, that by these verses,

Yet may thy memory with sweet delight
The various dangers and the toils recount,
Which in intestine wars and bloody fight
Thy patient virtue, Hiero, did surmount:
What time, by heaven above all Grecians crown'd,
The prize of sovereign sway with thee thy brother * found.

* What time, by heaven above all Grecians crown'd,
The prize of sovereign sway with thee thy brother found,

Pindar meant to allude to that famous decree, by which the people of Syracuse voluntarily settled the sovereignty of their city upon Gelo, and his brothers Hiero and Thrasybulus. A decree no less singular than honourable; no Grecian, that I know of, having obtained the sovereignty in a free state, by the voluntary appointment of the people, which shows the propriety of the two verses above quoted.

As to the following verses,

Then like the son of Pæan didst thou war,
Smit with the arrows of a sore disease,
While as along slow rolls thy sickly ear,
Love and amaze the haughtiest bosoms seize.

We are told by the Scholiast, that Hiero being afflicted with the stone, or gravel, was carried about with his army in a litter or chariot; which two particulars I have, for the sake of illustrating what follows, transplanted out of the notes into the text, though Pindar makes no mention of either. All the circumstances of Hiero's sickness, wars, &c. were undoubtedly too well known, to need any thing more, than a bare hint, or a distant allusion from Pindar, who wrote his Ode to be sung in the court, and even in the presence of Hiero himself. Every schoolboy is acquainted with the story of Philoctetes, the comparison between whom and Hiero turns upon the general resemblance of their conditions: they were both disabled, yet both attended their armies, and by that attendance having obtained the victory,

* Gelo.

DECADE XI.

Then like the son of Pæan didst thou war,
Smit with the arrows of a sore disease;
While, as along slow rolls thy sickly car,
Love and amaze the haughtiest bosoms seize.
In Lemnos pining with the' envenom'd wound
The son of Pæan, Philoctetes, lay:
There, after tedious quest, the heroes found,
And bore the limping archer thence away;
By whom fell Priam's towers (so fate ordain'd)
And the long harass'd Greeks their wish'd repose obtain'd.

gave repose to their long-harassed countrymen. As they resembled each other in these particulars, so (continues Pindar) may Hiero resemble Philoctetes in recovering his health by the supernatural assistance of some deity. Philoctetes, as the Scholiast tells us out of Dionysius, being by the direction of Apollo's oracle put into a bath, was cast into a deep sleep, and Machaon having taken away the putrified flesh, and washed the wound with wine, laid to it an herb which Æsculapius had received from Chiron, by which medicament the hero was restored to his former state of health. This wish or prayer Pindar has insisted upon more largely in his third Pythian Ode, addressed likewise to Hiero, which begins with a wish that Chiron was still resident upon earth, that (says Pindar) I might repair to him in his cave, and endeavour with my verses to prevail with him, either to lend his own assistance to good men labouring under any disease, or to send some son of Apollo, as Æsculapius or Apollo himself; and then (continues he) would I repair to Syracuse, carrying to Hiero two acceptable presents, health, and an Ode congratulating him upon his Pythian victory, &c. The whole Ode is very fine, and ends with proper consolatories to Hiero, whose disease, as this wish of the poet intimates, was not to be cured by human means.

DECADE XII.

May Hiero too, like Pæan's son, receive
  Recover'd vigour from celestial hands!
And may the healing god proceed to give
  The power to gain whate'er his wish demands.
But now, O muse, address thy sounding lays
  To young Dinomenes, his virtuous heir.
Sing to Dinomenes[6] his father's praise;
    His father's praise shall glad his filial ear.
  For him hereafter shalt thou touch the string,
And chant in friendly strains fair Ætna's future king.

[6] *Sing to Dinomenes his father's praise;*
His father's praise shall glad his filial ear.]

Dinomenes (named after his grandfather) was the son of Hiero by the daughter of Nicocles of Syracuse. Pindar in the next stanza tells us, that Hiero founded the city of Ætna for his son Dinomenes, whom he therefore styles the future king of Ætna; but the event did not answer either Hiero's intention, or the poet's expectation. For the old inhabitants of Catana, upon whose ruins the city of Ætna was built, returning immediately after the death of Hiero, expelled from thence the people settled there by Hiero, burnt his sepulchre, and took possession once more of their native city, from whence they had been driven by that monarch. Hiero, however, in his lifetime, appointed his son governor or general of this colony, which, i tseems, being composed of people descended originally from Sparta, (as Pindar himself tells us) was left by Hiero to enjoy their liberty, and be governed by the laws of their mother-country: which laws, according to the opinion of some people, as we learn from the Scholiast, were the famous laws of Lycurgus. This, however, is somewhat uncertain. I shall add here, for the information of the unlearned reader, that Amyclæ, mentioned in the following verses, was the old name of Sparta or Lacedæmon, which stood near the river Eurotas and the mountain Taygetus, and that Ætna (the city) was built on the banks of the river Amena. That Pindar was not mistaken in what he says of Dinomenes,

DECADE XIII.

Hiero for him the' illustrious city rear'd,
And fill'd with sons of Greece her stately towers,
Where by the free-born citizen rever'd
The Spartan laws exert their virtuous powers.
For by the statutes, which their fathers gave,
Still must the restive Dorian youth be led;
Who dwelling once on cold Eurotas' wave,
Where proud Taygetus exalts his head,
From the great stock of Hercules divine
And warlike Pamphilus deriv'd their noble line.

DECADE XIV.

These from Thessalian Pindus rushing down,
The walls of fam'd Amyclæ once possess'd,
And rich in fortune's gifts and high renown,
Dwelt near the twins of Leda, while they press'd
Their milky coursers, and the pastures o'er
Of neighbouring Argos rang'd, in arms supreme.
To king and people on the flowery shore
Of lucid Amena, Sicilian stream,
Grant the like fortune, Jove, with like desert
The splendour of their race and glory to assert.

DECADE XV.

And do thou aid Sicilia's hoary lord
To form and rule his son's obedient mind;
And still in golden chains of sweet accord,
And mutual peace, the friendly people bind.

viz. '*His father's praise shall glad his filial ear,*' may be inferred from the rich monuments of his father's Olympic victories, erected by him at Olympia: which, as Pausanias informs us, lib. vi. were a chariot made by Onatus of Ægina, and two horses, with boys upon them, the workmanship of Calamis.

Then grant, O son of Saturn[7], grant my pray'r!
The bold Phœnician on his shore detain;
And may the hardy Tuscan never dare
To vex with clamorous war Sicilia's main;

[7] *Then grant, O son of Saturn, grant my pray'r!*
The bold Phœnician, &c.]

From these verses we learn a particular not taken notice of by any of those historians whose works are now remaining; namely, that Hiero, in conjunction with his brethren Gelo, Thrasybulus, and Polyzelus, obtained a naval victory over the Carthaginians, as well as that by land mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus. Whoever attentively considers this passage of Pindar, can make no doubt but that the battle and victory here spoken of were both naval. The only question is, whether this passage refers to the above-mentioned victory obtained by Gelo and his brothers Hiero, &c. over the Carthaginians, or to that gained afterwards by Hiero over the Tuscan pirates near Cuma, mentioned by Diodorus, lib. xi. To determine us to apply it to the former, I must observe; first, that the Carthaginians are here joined with the Tuscans or Tyrrhenians, which was the case when Gelo, &c. engaged them; whereas the victory afterwards won by Hiero was only over the Tuscan or Tyrrhenian pirates: secondly, the consequences of this victory are by Pindar represented to be no less than the delivering Greece from slavery; an expression very applicable to the victory obtained by Gelo and his brothers over the joint forces of the Carthaginians and Tuscans; but very extravagant and unjustifiable, if applied to that gained by Hiero over a few pirates: thirdly, this victory is, in the verses immediately following, compared with the two famous victories gained by the Athenians and Spartans, at Salamis and Platææ, over the Persians; by virtue of an alliance with whom, the Carthaginians at the same time invaded the Greeks settled in Sicily: fourthly, Pindar mentions the sons of Dinomenes as partaking in the glory of this victory, which is true of that gained by Gelo, &c. in memory of which, the Scholiast tells us, Gelo, who lived well with his brothers, dedicated some golden tripods to Jupiter, on which were inscribed four Greek verses; importing, that Gelo,

Remembering Hiero, how on Cuma's coast
Wreck'd by his stormy arms their groaning fleets
were lost.

Hiero, Thrasybulus, and Polyzelus, the sons of Dinomenes, dedicated those tripods, on occasion of a victory obtained by them over the Barbarians, against whom they assisted the Greeks in the defence of their liberty. By this inscription it appears, that all the sons of Dinomenes were concerned in this action, which makes it more proper to apply the words of Pindar, παίδεσσι Δεινομένεος, 'the sons of Dinomenes,' to this action, than to that of Hiero before-mentioned, at the time of which Gelo was dead.

From all these considerations I think it clear, that the victory here spoken of, was gained by Gelo, &c. over the Carthaginians. This is further confirmed by the following passage of Ephorus, a Sicilian historian, quoted by the Scholiast of Pindar, of which this is the substance; that Xerxes having made great preparations to invade Greece, there came ambassadors to Gelo, desiring him to join his forces to the allied army of the Greeks; that at the same time ambassadors were sent from the Persians and Tyrians to the Carthaginians, ordering them to raise all the forces they could, and attack all those in Sicily whom they should find inclined to assist the Greeks; and after they had subdued them, to sail directly to Peloponnesus; that each assenting to what was demanded of them, Hiero [perhaps it should be Gelo] being very eager for assisting the Greeks, and the Carthaginians being as ready to co-operate with Xerxes, the former, viz. Gelo, got ready a fleet of two hundred ships, and an army of two thousand horse, and ten thousand foot; and having been informed that the Carthaginian fleet was sailed for Sicily, went out to meet them, engaged and vanquished them; by which victory (continues Ephorus) he not only saved Sicily, but all Greece. Here then is the direct testimony of an historian, who wrote expressly upon the affairs of Sicily, and lived long before Diodorus, confirming what Pindar (who lived at the very time of these transactions) says of a naval victory obtained by Gelo and his brothers over the Carthaginians. Of which, however, neither Diodorus, nor any other author, that I know of,

DECADE XVI.

What terrors! what destruction them assail'd!
Hurl'd from their riven decks what numbers died!
When o'er their might Sicilia's chief prevail'd,
Their youth o'erwhelming in the foamy tide;

makes any mention, except Pausanias; whose words I shall produce presently: for this omission, as well in the modern as the ancient historians, I can by no means account; considering that the latter might have learned this particular from Ephorus and others, and the former from Pindar and his Scholiast, as well as from the words of Pausanias above hinted at, which are these: Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῷ Σικυωνίῳ ἐστὶν ὁ Καρχηδονίων θησαυρός. Ἀναθήματα δ' ἐν αὐτῷ Ζεὺς μεγέθει μέγας, καὶ θώρακες λινοῖ τρεῖς ἀριθμόν. Γέλωνος δὲ ἀνάθημα καὶ Συρακουσίων, Φοινίκας ἤτοι τριήρεσιν ἢ καὶ πεζῇ μάχῃ κρατησάντων. Paus. lib. vi. p. 499, edit. Kuhnii. *Prope Sicyoniam thesaurus est Carthaginiensium——in eo sunt Jupiter ingenti magnitudine, et linteæ loricæ tres, Gelonis et Syracusanorum dona, victis classe vel etiam pedestri pugnâ Pœnis*, or, as I think they may be translated, *victis quidem classe, atque etiam pedestri pugnâ Pœnis.* Here is mention made of two victories, one by land, and the other by sea: and this I take to have been the truth of the case. Gelo first fought with the Carthaginians at sea, routed and dispersed their fleet, and sunk many of their ships; but many, as they well might, out of so large a fleet of ships of war and transports, escaping to Sicily, he afterwards engaged them upon land, and won the victory mentioned by Diodorus. This supposition not only reconciles the two different relations given by Diodorus and Ephorus, but accounts for Pindar's naming, as he does, both Cuma and Himera as the places of action, and mentioning the battles both of Salamis and Plataeæ; the one of which was fought at sea, the other by land. In this light the comparison is just and noble, and the whole passage of Pindar clear and intelligible; whereas, if there was only one victory, whether by sea or land, there is no reconciling the historians with one another, nor even Pindar with himself;

Greece, from impending servitude to save.
Thy favour, glorious Athens! to acquire
Would I record the Salaminian wave
Fan'd in thy triumphs: and my tuneful lyre
To Sparta's sons with sweetest praise should tell,
Beneath Cithæron's shade what Medish archers fell.

DECADE XVII.

But on fair Himera's wide-water'd shores
Thy sons, Dinomenes, my lyre demand,
To grace their virtues with the various stores
Of sacred verse, and sing the' illustrious band
Of valiant brothers, who from Carthage won
The glorious meed of conquest, deathless praise!
A pleasing theme: but censure's dreaded frown
Compels me to contract my spreading lays.
In verse conciseness pleases every guest,
While each, impatient, blames and loaths a tedious feast.

and, if I might be indulged in a conjecture, I should imagine, from Pindar's mentioning Hiero alone, when he speaks of the naval fight near Cuma, and afterwards, when he refers to the land battle fought near the river Himera, mentioning all the sons of Dinomenes; I should, I say, infer that Hiero commanded in the sea-engagement; which may also be one reason why this naval victory is not placed among the actions of Gelo; as its having been obscured by the more illustrious and more important victory obtained by Gelo and his brothers, which put an end to that Carthaginian invasion, may have been the occasion of Pindar's recording it; in order to preserve the memory of an action, which so much redounded to the honour of Hiero, to whom he inscribes this Ode. This note having been communicated to the authors of the 'Universal History,' they were pleased to honour it with a place in their learned and valuable work; and it is accordingly printed in the seventh vol. octavo.

DECADE XVIII.

Nor less distasteful is excessive fame
  To the sour palate of the envious mind;
Who hears with grief his neighbour's goodly name,
  And hates the fortune that he ne'er shall find.
Yet in thy virtue, Hiero, persevere!
  Since to be envied is a nobler fate
Than to be pitied: let strict justice steer
  With equitable hand the helm of state,
And arm thy tongue with truth. O king, beware
Of every step: a prince can never lightly err.

DECADE XIX.

O'er many nations art thou set, to deal
  The goods of fortune with impartial hand;
And, ever watchful of the public weal,
  Unnumber'd witnesses around thee stand.
Then would thy virtuous ear for ever feast
  On the sweet melody of well-earn'd fame,
In generous purposes confirm thy breast,
  Nor dread expenses that will grace thy name;
But scorning sordid and unprincely gain,
Spread all thy bounteous sails, and launch into the main.

DECADE XX.

When in the mouldering urn the monarch lies,
  His fame in lively characters remains,
Or grav'd in monumental histories,
  Or deck'd and painted in Aönian strains.
Thus fresh, and fragrant, and immortal blooms
  The virtue, Crœsus, of thy gentle mind:
While fate to infamy and hatred dooms
  Sicilia's tyrant, scorn of human kind;

Whose ruthless bosom swell'd with cruel pride,
When in his brazen bull the broiling wretches died.

DECADE XXI.

Him therefore nor in sweet society
The generous youth conversing ever name;
Nor with the harp's delightful melody
Mingle his odious inharmonious fame.
The first, the greatest bliss on man confer'd
Is, in the acts of virtue to excel;
The second, to obtain their high reward,
The soul-exalting praise of doing well:
Who both these lots attains, is bless'd indeed,
Since fortune here below can give no richer meed!

THE

FIRST NEMEAN ODE,

BY MR. WEST.

THIS Ode is inscribed to Chromius, of Ætna, (a city of Sicily) who gained the victory in the chariot-race, in the Nemean games.

ARGUMENT.

FROM the praises of Ortygia (an island near Sicily, and part of the city of Syracuse, to which it was joined by a bridge) Pindar passes to the subject or occasion of this Ode; *viz.* the victory obtained by Chromius in the Nemean games; which, as it was the first of that kind gained by him, the poet styles the basis of his future fame, laid by the co-operation of the gods, who assisted and seconded his divine virtues; and, (adds he) if fortune continues to be favourable, he may arrive at the highest summit of glory. By which is meant chiefly, though not solely, the gaining more prizes in the great or sacred games, (particularly the Olympic) where the Muses constantly attend to celebrate and record the conquerors. From thence, after a short digression to the general praise of Sicily, he comes to an enumeration of the particular virtues of Chromius; *viz.* his hospitality, liberality, prudence in council, and courage in war. Then returning to the Nemean victory, he takes occasion from so auspicious a beginning, to promise Chromius a large increase of glory; in like manner as Tiresias, the famous poet and prophet of

Thebes (the country of Pindar) upon viewing the first exploit of Hercules, which was killing in his cradle the two serpents sent by Juno to devour him, foretold the subsequent achievements of that hero; and the great reward he should receive for all his labours, by being admitted into the number of the gods, and married to Hebe; with which story he concludes the Ode.

STROPHE I.

SISTER of Delos [1]! pure abode
Of virgin Cynthia, goddess of the chase!
In whose recesses rests the' emerging flood
Of Alpheus, breathing from his amorous race!

[1] *Sister of Delos! &c.*] Ortygia is by Pindar styled the sister of Delos; either because Diana was worshipped particularly in those two islands, or because she was born in the former, as her brother Apollo was in the latter, according to Homer, in his hymns. For both which reasons also, he styles it the place of abode or residence of Diana. The fable of the river Alpheus' pursuing the fountain Arethusa from Peloponnesus under the sea, and rising again in Ortygia, is well known. But there is some difficulty in accounting for Pindar's choosing to usher in the praises of Chromius with celebrating those of Ortygia, which seem to have at best but a very distant relation to his subject. The learned reader may find several reasons assigned in the Scholiast upon the place; but as none of them appear satisfactory to me, I shall pass them over, and beg leave to offer a conjecture of my own; after premising, that Pindar, who was a native of Thebes in Bœotia, commonly resided there, though he sometimes undoubtedly visited other parts of Greece, and even Sicily, where Hiero is said to have enjoyed and profited by his conversation; that he commonly assisted at the four great or sacred festivals (as they are called) of Greece, the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games, is also very probable, and may be inferred from several circumstances and expressions observable in the Odes he com-

Divine Ortygia! to thy name
  The muse preluding tunes her strings,
Pleas'd with the sweet preamble of thy fame,
  To usher in the verse, that sings

posed for the conquerors in those games; particularly in the fourth Olympic Ode, which was apparently made and sung at Olympia, immediately after the victory then obtained by Psaumis. See above the note on the inscription of Olymp. Ode V. At these festivals those of the conquerors, who had a mind to have their victories celebrated by Pindar, applied to him for an Ode, which they carried with them to their respective countries; where they caused it to be sung by a chorus in the processions, or at the sacrifices, (which were made with great pomp and solemnity at their return to their native countries) or to those countries or cities of which they chose to be denominated, at the time of their entering themselves candidates for any of those crowns. These several points being premised, I observe, that Ortygia (which was a small island so near the main land of Sicily, that it made part of the city of Syracuse, to which it was joined by a bridge) Ortygia, I say, was probably the place where the chariots and horses of Chromius, as well as those people who brought this Ode of Pindar from Argos, (the city where the Nemean games were celebrated) first landed. Pindar, therefore, by addressing himself to Ortygia, may be considered as saluting, by his representative, the Ode or the Chorus, the island of Sicily, immediately upon his arrival, and beginning his song of triumph at the very place where, in all probability, Chromius began his triumphal procession. He seems to have set out with Chromius from Ortygia (σέθεν ἀδυεπὴς ὕμνος ὁρμᾶται), and to have attended him quite to Ætna (Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίᾳ χάριν), which being some miles distance from Ortygia, where they first landed, furnished him with an opportunity of surveying, and thereby with an occasion of celebrating the fertility, riches, populousness, &c. of Sicily, whose praises he accordingly dwells upon in the Antistrophe and Epode. Upon this supposition it is evident, that many of the topics insisted on by Pindar, which seem to have but little relation to his subject, took their rise from the places where the Ode was to be sung: an observation which will help us to account for many

Thy triumphs, Chromius; while Sicilian Jove
Hears with delight through Ætna's sounding grove
The gratulations of the hymning choir,
Whom thy victorious car, and Nemea's palms
inspire.

ANTISTROPHE I.

The basis of his future praise
Assisted by the gods hath Chromius laid;
And to its height the towering pile may raise,
If fortune lends her favourable aid:

of those long digressions, and sudden transitions, which have been censured by many, and have contributed to give a very ill impression of Pindar, and his manner of writing; as if he himself was little better than a madman, and his composition mere rhapsodies of shining thoughts indeed, and poetical expressions, but wild and irregular, without method, without connection. How far his 'Dithyrambic Odes' may have deserved this character, cannot now be determined, since they are all lost; but whoever reads that part of his works, which now remains, with due attention, and takes into consideration the circumstances of time and place, &c. with a view to which these Odes were composed, will, I am persuaded, find no reason to think Pindar wanted good sense, any more than he did poetical fire and imagination. The Scholiast upon the words Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίᾳ χάριν expressly tells us, that the Odes made by Pindar, and others, upon occasion of Hiero's victories in the games, were written with a view to their being sung in the festivals or games consecrated to Ætnean Jupiter; and it is probable, says Didymus, (quoted by the same Scholiast) that this Ode to Chromius was composed for the same purpose. Here then we have the authority both of the Scholiast and Didymus for an observation which the Ode itself might have suggested to us; and which, *mutatis mutandis*, may and ought to be applied to most of the Odes of Pindar. See particularly Olymp. Odes the 5th and 14th, and the Notes.

Assur'd that all the' Aonian train
  Their wonted friendship will afford,
Who with delight frequent the listed plain,
  The toils of virtue to record.
Meantime, around this isle, harmonious muse!
The brightest beams of shining verse diffuse:
This fruitful island, with whose flowery pride
Heaven's awful king endow'd great Pluto's beauteous bride.

EPODE I.

Sicilia, with transcendent plenty crown'd,
  Jove to Proserpina consign'd;
Then with a nod his solemn promise bound,
  Still further to enrich her fertile shores
With peopled cities, stately towers,
  And sons in arts and arms refin'd;
Skill'd to the dreadful works of war
  The thundering steed to train;
Or mounted on the whirling car
  Olympia's all-priz'd olive to obtain.——
Abundant is my theme; nor need I wrong
The fair occasion with a flattering song.

STROPHE II.

To Chromius no unwelcome guest[2]
  I come, high sounding my Dircæan chord;
Who for his poet hath prepar'd the feast,
  And spread with luxury his friendly board;

[2] *To Chromius no unwelcome guest*
I come, &c.]

It is doubtful, says the Scholiast, whether these words are spoken in the person of the poet, or of the chorus: if of the

For never from his generous gate
Unentertain'd the stranger flies.
While envy's scorching flame, that blasts the great,
Quench'd with his flowing bounty, dies.

latter, what follows about the feast is to be taken literally, for the persons who composed the Chorus were always feasted; whereas if they are supposed to be spoken in the person of Pindar, the words, *Who for his poet hath prepar'd the feast,* ἔνθά μοι ἁρμόδιον δεῖπνον κεκόσμηται, *ubi mihi conveniens cœna adornata est,* must, says the Scholiast, be interpreted figuratively, and construed to mean the presents prepared by Chromius for Pindar as a reward for his Ode. This interpretation I think very harsh. On the other hand, if we suppose the Chorus to speak in his own person, there is an enallage of the tense, the perfect tense being put for the present. But as the using one tense for another is no uncommon thing in poets, and very frequent in Pindar, I am inclined to understand them of the Chorus, and I have accordingly translated them in that sense. To the Chorus likewise, as the representative of Pindar, I have given the epithet of Dircæan, or Theban, and the title of poet. Now if we suppose these words spoken in the person of the Chorus, and consequently take what is said about the feast in a literal sense, we shall have another plain allusion to the circumstances accompanying the triumph of Chromius, in which this Ode was sung: and we may hence take occasion to observe, in confirmation of what is said in the preceding note, how artfully the poet hath adapted the several parts of his Ode to the several topics which presented themselves, during the time in which it was sung by the Chorus. The victorious chariot and horses of Chromius landed in Ortygia, from whence, in all probability, the procession began. With the praises therefore of Ortygia, the Chorus who attended the triumph of the conqueror very properly begin their song, declaring at the same time the subject or occasion of it; *viz.* the Nemean victory of Chromius, and the design of all their pomp and festivity, which was to return thanks to Ætnean Jupiter, and the gods, by whose assistance Chromius in this his first victory had laid the foundations of his future fame. Next comes the

But envy ill becomes the human mind;
Since various parts to various men assign'd
All to perfection and to praise will lead,
Would each those paths pursue which nature bids him tread.

praise of Sicily, through a large tract of which they were to pass from Syracuse to Ætna; in which passage we may suppose them at proper pauses taking notice of the fertility, wealth, populousness, &c. of that island, which could not fail striking their eyes, as they proceeded in their march through the fields of corn, the rich pastures, and the stately cities, for which Sicily was at that time, and some ages after, so famous. After this, upon mention of the feast prepared for the Chorus, they take occasion to launch into the particular praises of Chromius, beginning with his hospitality, of which the great entertainment then provided by him was a specimen. As these praises of his hospitality and liberality were a kind of invitation to all strangers to partake of his bounty; from these topics the poet falls naturally into the mention of the other excellent qualities of Chromius; *viz.* his wisdom, courage, and activity, in the service of his country; and then returning to his Nemean victory, promises him, from this auspicious beginning, a large increase of fame, &c. as has been observed in the Argument. By considering these several points in this light, the whole Ode appears to me very methodical and well connected: but as all I have offered is nothing more than conjecture, I submit it as such to the judgment of the learned reader.

I had once translated this passage thus:

To Chromius once a welcome guest
I came, high sounding my Dircæan chord,
Who for his poet straight prepar'd the feast, &c.

Taking it to be spoken in the person of Pindar, who, having been in Sicily, might formerly have been hospitably received and entertained by Chromius. This interpretation will agree better with the tense ἔστιν, but I think the other preferable

ANTISTROPHE II.

In action thus heroic might,
  In council shines the mind sagacious, wise,
Which to the future casts her piercing sight,
  And sees the train of consequences rise.
With either talent Chromius bless'd
  Suppresses not his active powers.
I hate the miser, whose unsocial breast
  Locks from the world his useless stores:
Wealth by the bounteous only is enjoy'd,
Whose treasures in diffusive good employ'd,
The rich returns of fame and friends procure;
And 'gainst a sad reverse, a safe retreat insure.

EPODE II.

Thy early virtues, Chromius, deck'd with praise,
  And these first-fruits of fame inspire
The muse to promise for thy future days
A large increase of merit and renown.
  So when of old Jove's mighty son,
  Worthy his great immortal sire,
  Forth from Alcmena's teeming bed
    With his twin-brother came,
  Safe through life's painful entrance led
To view the dazzling sun's reviving flame,
The' imperial cradle Juno quick survey'd,
Where slept the twins in saffron bands array'd.

STROPHE III.

Then glowing with immortal rage,
  The gold-enthroned empress of the gods,
Her eager thirst of vengeance to assuage,
  Straight to her hated rival's curs'd abodes

Bade her vindictive serpents haste.
They through the opening valves with speed
On to the chamber's deep recesses pass,
To perpetrate their murderous deed:
And now in knotty mazes to infold
Their destin'd prey, on curling spires they roll'd,
His dauntless brow when young Alcides rear'd,
And for their first attempt his infant arms prepar'd.

ANTISTROPHE III.

Fast by the azure necks he held
And grip'd in either hand his scaly foes;
Till from their horrid carcases expell'd,
At length the poisonous soul unwilling flows.
Meantime intolerable dread
Congeal'd each female's curdling blood,
All who attendant on the genial bed
Around the languid mother stood.
She, with distracting fear and anguish stung,
Forth from her sickly couch impatient sprung;
Her cumbrous robe regardless off she threw,
And to protect her child with fondest ardour flew.

EPODE III.

But with her shrill, distressful cries alarm'd,
In rush'd each bold Cadmean lord,
In brass refulgent, as to battle arm'd;
With them Amphitryon, whose tumultuous breast
A crowd of various cares infest:
High brandishing his gleaming sword
With eager, anxious step, he came;
A wound so near his heart

Shook with dismay his inmost frame,
And rous'd the active spirits in every part.
To our own sorrows serious heed we give;
But for another's woe soon cease to grieve.

STROPHE IV.

Amaz'd the trembling father stood,
While doubtful pleasure, mix'd with wild surprise,
Drove from his troubled heart the vital flood:
His son's stupendous deed with wondering eyes
He view'd, and how the gracious will
Of heaven to joy had chang'd his fear,
And falsified the messengers of ill.
Then straight he calls the' unerring seer,
Divine Tiresias, whose prophetic tongue
Jove's sacred mandates from the tripod sung;
Who then to all the' attentive throng explain'd
What fate the' immortal gods for Hercules ordain'd.

ANTISTROPHE IV.

What fell despoilers of the land
The prophet told, what monsters of the main
Should feel the vengeance of his righteous hand:
What savage, proud, pernicious tyrant slain,
To Hercules should bow his head,
Hurl'd from his arbitrary throne,
Whose glittering pomp his curs'd ambition fed,
And made indignant nations groan.
Last, when the giant sons of earth shall dare
To wage against the gods rebellious war,
Pierc'd by his rapid shafts on Phlegra's plain
With dust their radiant locks the haughty foe shall stain.

EPODE IV.

Then shall his generous toils for ever cease,
With fame, with endless life repaid;
With pure tranquillity and heavenly peace:
Then led in triumph to his starry dome,
To grace his spousal bed shall come,
In beauty's glowing bloom array'd,
Immortal Hebe, ever young.
In Jove's august abodes
Then shall he hear the bridal song,
Then in the bless'd society of gods,
The nuptial banquet share, and rap'd in praise
And wonder round the glittering mansion gaze.

THE

ELEVENTH NEMEAN ODE,

BY MR WEST.

THIS Ode is inscribed to Aristagoras, upon occasion of his entering on his office of president or governor of the island of Tenedos; so that although it is placed among the Nemean Odes, it has no sort of relation to those games, and is indeed properly an Inauguration Ode, composed to be sung by a chorus at the sacrifices and the feast made by Aristagoras and his colleagues, in the Town-Hall, at the time of their being invested with the magistracy; as is evident from many expressions in the first Strophe and Antistrophe.

ARGUMENT.

PINDAR opens this Ode with an invocation to Vesta, (the goddess who presided over the courts of Justice, and whose statue and altar were for that reason placed in the Town-Halls, or Prytaneums, as the Greeks called them) beseeching her to receive favourably Aristagoras and his colleagues, who were then coming to offer sacrifices to her, upon their entering on their office of prytanes or magistrates of Tenedos; which office continuing for a year, he begs the goddess to take Aristagoras under her protection during that time, and

to conduct him to the end of it without trouble or disgrace. From Aristagoras, Pindar turns himself, in the next place, to his father Arcesilas, whom he pronounces happy; as well upon account of his son's merit and honour, as upon his own great endowments and good fortune; such as beauty, strength, courage, riches, and glory, resulting from his many victories in the games. But lest he should be too much puffed up with these praises, he reminds him, at the same time, of his mortality; and tells him, that his clothing of flesh is perishable, and that he must ere long be clothed with earth, the end of all things; and yet (continues he) it is but justice to praise and celebrate the worthy and deserving, who from good citizens ought to receive all kinds of honour and commendation; as Aristagoras, for instance, who hath rendered both himself and his country illustrious, by the many victories he hath obtained, to the number of sixteen, over the neighbouring youth, in the games exhibited in and about his own country. From whence, says the poet, I conclude he would have come off victorious even in the Pythian and Olympic games, had he not been restrained from engaging in those famous lists by the too timid and cautious love of his parents: upon which he falls into a moral reflection upon the vanity of men's hopes and fears, by the former of which they are oftentimes excited to attempts beyond their strength, which accordingly issue in their disgrace; as, on the other hand, they are frequently restrained by unreasonable and ill-grounded fears, from enterprises, in which they would, in all probability, have come off with honour. This reflection he applies to Aristagoras, by saying it was very easy to foresee what success he was like to meet with, who both by father and mother was descended from a long train of great and valiant men. But here again, with a very artful turn of flattery to his father Arcesilas, (whom he had before represented as strong and valiant, and famous for his victories in the games) he observes that every generation, even of a great and glorious family, is not equally illustrious, any more than the fields and trees are every year equally fruitful; that the gods had not given mortals any certain tokens, by which they might foreknow when the rich years of virtue should succeed; whence it comes to pass, that men out of self-conceit and presumption

are perpetually laying schemes, and forming enterprises, without previously consulting prudence or wisdom, whose streams (says he) lie remote, and out of the common road. From all which he infers, that it is better to moderate our desires, and set bounds to our avarice and ambition; with which moral precept he concludes the Ode.

STROPHE I.

DAUGHTER of Rhea! thou, whose holy fire
Before the awful seat of justice flames!
Sister of heaven's almighty sire!
Sister of Juno, who co-equal claims
With Jove to share the empire of the gods!
O virgin Vesta! to thy dread abodes,
Lo! Aristagoras directs his pace:
Receive, and near thy sacred sceptre place
Him, and his colleagues, who with honest zeal
O'er Tenedos preside, and guard the public weal.

ANTISTROPHE I.

And lo! with frequent offerings they adore
Thee, first invok'd in every solemn pray'r [1]!
To thee unmix'd libations pour,
And fill with odorous fumes the fragrant air.
Around in festive songs the hymning choir
Mix the melodious voice and sounding lyre.

[1] *Thee, first invok'd in every solemn pray'r!*] In the Greek it is πρώταν θεῶν, *primam deorum*, which the Scholiast explains by telling us, that it was usual (doubtless in all solemn sacrifices and prayers) to begin with invoking Vesta: which comment I therefore thought proper to insert into the text, instead of translating the Greek words literally; since without this, the meaning of them is not obvious.

While still, prolong'd with hospitable love,
Are solemniz'd the rites of genial Jove:
Then guard him, Vesta, through his long career,
And let him close in joy his ministerial year.

EPODE I.

But hail, Arcesilas! all hail
To thee! bless'd father of a son so great!
Thou, whom on fortune's highest scale
The favourable hand of heaven hath set;
Thy manly form with beauty hath refin'd,
And match'd that beauty with a valiant mind.
Yet let not man too much presume,
Though grac'd with beauty's fairest bloom;
Though for superior strength renown'd;
Though with triumphal chaplets crown'd:
Let him remember, that in flesh array'd
Soon shall he see that mortal vestment fade;
Till last imprison'd in the mouldering urn,
To earth, the end of all things, he return.

STROPHE II.

Yet should the worthy from the public tongue
Receive their recompense of virtuous praise;
By every zealous patriot sung,
And deck'd with every flow'r of heavenly lays,
Such retribution in return for fame,
Such, Aristagoras, thy virtues claim;
Claim from thy country, on whose glorious brows
The wrestler's chaplet still unfaded blows [2];

[2] *The wrestler's chaplet——Mix'd with the great pancratiastic crown.*] By these words it appears that the two exercises, in which Aristagoras had gained so many victories, were the *palé* or wrestling, and the *pancratium.* The first

Mix'd with the great pancratiastic crown,
Which from the neighbouring youth thy early
valour won.

ANTISTROPHE II.

And (but his timid parents' cautious love,
Distrusting ever his too forward hand,
Forbade their tender son to prove
The toils of Pythia' or Olympia's sand)
Now by the gods I swear, his valorous might
Had 'scap'd victorious in each bloody fight;
And from Castalia, or where dark with shade
The mount of Saturn rears its olive-head,
Great and illustrious home had he return'd;
While, by his fame eclips'd, his vanquish'd foes had
mourn'd.

EPODE II.

Then his triumphal tresses bound
With the dark verdure of the' Olympic grove,
With joyous banquets had he crown'd
The great quinquennial festival of Jove;

of these required great strength and agility of body; the second, not only strength and agility, but great courage also, since it was a very rough and dangerous exercise; for which reason we need not wonder at the parents of Aristagoras, for being unwilling to let him enter the lists at Pythia and Olympia; which being the most famous of the four sacred games, he was sure to meet there with antagonists, that would have put his strength and courage to the severest trial, and perhaps endangered his life. The compliment, however, which Pindar here makes to him, by saying, that he could have answered for his success, could not but be very acceptable. Castalia was a river, upon whose banks the Pythian games were exhibited; and the mount of Saturn was a small hill planted with olives, that overlooked the Stadium at Olympia. But for this and other particulars, see Dissertation on the Olympic Games.

And cheer'd the solemn pomp with choral lays:
Sweet tribute, which the muse to virtue pays.
But, such is man's preposterous fate!
Now with o'er-weening pride elate
Too far he aims his shaft to throw,
And, straining, bursts his feeble bow.
Now pusillanimous, depress'd with fear,
He checks his virtue in the mid-career;
And, of his strength distrustful, coward flies,
The contest, though empower'd to gain the prize.

STROPHE III.

But who could err in prophesying good
Of him, whose undegenerating breast
Swells with a tide of Spartan blood,
From sire to sire in long succession trac'd
Up to Pisander; who in days of yore
From old Amyclæ to the Lesbian shore
And Tenedos, colleagu'd in high command
With great Orestes, led the' Æolian band?
Nor was his mother's race less strong and brave,
Sprung from a stock that grew on fair Ismenus' wave [3].

ANTISTROPHE III.

Though for long intervals obscur'd again
Oft-times the seeds of lineal worth appear.
For neither can the furrow'd plain
Full harvests yield with each returning year:
Nor in each period will the pregnant bloom
Invest the smiling tree with rich perfume.

3 *Ismenus' wave.*] Ismenus was a river of Bœotia, of which country was Menalippus, the ancestor of Aristagoras by his mother's side.

So, barren often and inglorious pass
The generations of a noble race;
While nature's vigour, working at the root,
In after-ages swells, and blossoms into fruit.

EPODE III.

Nor hath Jove given us to foreknow
When the rich years of virtue shall succeed;
Yet bold and daring on we go,
Contriving schemes of many a mighty deed:
While hope, fond inmate of the human mind,
And self-opinion, active, rash, and blind,
Hold up a false illusive ray,
That leads our dazzled feet astray
Far from the spring, where calm and slow
The secret streams of wisdom flow.
Hence should we learn our ardour to restrain;
And limit to due bounds the thirst of gain.
To rage and madness oft that passion turns,
Which with forbidden flames despairing burns,

THE

SECOND ISTHMIAN ODE,

BY MR. WEST.

THIS Ode was written upon occasion of a victory obtained in the chariot-race by Xenocrates of Agrigentum in the Isthmian games; it is, however, addressed not to Xenocrates himself, but to his son Thrasybulus; from whence, and from Pindar's always speaking of Xenocrates in the perfect tense, it is most probable it was written after the death of Xenocrates; and for this reason it has by some been reckoned among the θρῆνοι, or elegies, of Pindar.

ARGUMENT.

THE introduction contains a sort of an apology for a poet's taking money for his compositions; a thing (says Pindar) not practised formerly by the servants of the Muses, who drew their inspiration from love alone, and wrote only from the heart: but as the world is grown interested, so are the poets become mercenary; observing the truth of that famous saying of Aristodemus the Spartan, 'money makes the man:' a truth, he says, which he himself experienced, having with his riches lost all his friends; and of this truth (continues Pindar) you, Thrasybulus, are not ignorant, for you are a wise man; I shall

therefore say no more about it, but proceed to celebrate the victories of Xenocrates: after an enumeration of which, he passes on to the mention of the virtues of Xenocrates, whom he praises for his benevolence, his public spirit, his devotion to the gods, and his constant uninterrupted course of hospitality in all changes of fortune. These virtues of his father he encourages Thrasybulus not to conceal, through the fear of exciting the envy of mankind, and bids Nicasippus (by whom this Ode was sent to Thrasybulus) to tell him to publish it; concluding with observing, that a poem is not made to continue always like a mute and motionless statue in one place.

STROPHE I.

They, Thrasybulus, who in ancient days
Triumphant mounted in the Muses' car,
Tuning their harps to soft and tender lays,
Aim'd their sweet numbers at the young and fair;
Whose beauties, ripe for love, with rapturous fires
Their wanton hearts inflam'd, and waken'd strong desires.

ANTISTROPHE I.

As yet the muse, despising sordid gain,
Strung not for gold her mercenary lyre:
Nor did Terpsichore adorn her strain
In gilded courtesy and gay attire,
With fair appearances to move the heart,
And recommend to sale her prostituted art.

EPODE I.

But now she suffers all her tuneful train
Far other principles to hold [1];

[1] The apology which Pindar here makes for a poet's taking money for his compositions, however well-founded it may seem to be in the general corruption of mankind, will doubtless appear somewhat extraordinary; since poets, though often poor, are seldom fond of acknowledging that they write with mercenary views, because such a confession is not only inconsistent with the inspiration they commonly pretend to, but must also naturally tend to render the praises they bestow upon their patrons suspected, and consequently diminish their value. Yet, if we consider the occasions upon which these Odes were composed, as well as the persons to whom they were inscribed, we ought not, I think, to censure Pindar for taking money for them. A victory obtained in the games commonly gave birth to these songs of triumph; and they were, as it may be supposed, generally written at the solicitation of the victors themselves, who procured them to be set to music, and caused them to be sung by a chorus during the public rejoicings, which were made by their respective cities, in which, doubtless, their Odes were no inconsiderable part of the entertainment; and as the greatest number of the conquerors celebrated by Pindar were of countries and cities often very remote from and no way related to Thebes, the country of Pindar, it is evident he could have no manner of concern in their victories; and consequently no inducement, either public or private, to write upon such subjects, without being rewarded for his trouble. And if it was no disgrace in Pindar (as in my opinion it was not) to take money upon these occasions, there was no reason for his being ashamed of owning it; on the contrary, it must have been esteemed a piece of false modesty and ridiculous affectation in him to endeavour to conceal it; especially as the fact could not but have been public and notorious. As to the value of the praises bestowed by Pindar upon the persons to whom these Odes were inscribed, it must be confessed it could not have been very great; since it cannot be supposed that Pindar had any personal knowledge of far the greatest part of the conquerors, to whom he has addressed them.

And with the Spartan sage maintain,
That man is worthless without gold [2].
This truth himself by sad experience prov'd,
Deserted in his need by those he lov'd.

Their characters, excepting such parts of them as might have been collected from the victories they obtained, as, their agility, dexterity, strength, and courage, &c. and their wealth, inferred from their breeding, maintaining, and managing a race of beautiful, strong, and fleet horses; excepting these particulars, I say, he must have taken their characters and histories either from themselves, their friends, or countrymen, as well as the accounts of their families, genealogies, and countries, so frequently to be met with in his Odes. The chief advantage accruing to the persons celebrated by Pindar, was the having their victories, &c. recorded by a poet, whose reputation would, in all probability, not only spread their fame as far as the Grecian language was spoken or understood, but transmit it also to posterity; an advantage certainly as well worthy their ambition as the Olympic crown; and of this Pindar was no less sensible, than those persons who were desirous of purchasing it of him, and accordingly seems to have set a pretty high price upon his Odes, as may appear from the following story, related by the Scholiast upon the fifth Nemean Ode, inscribed to Pytheas of Ægina, which begins with these words, Οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός ἐιμ', κ. τ. λ. *I am no statuary, &c.* The Scholiast upon this passage says, that it is reported, that the friends of Pytheas, coming to Pindar, desired him to compose an Ode upon the victory obtained by Pytheas in the Pancratium: but Pindar demanding for it three drachmas [somewhat less than two shillings] they replied, 'it was

[2] *That man is worthless without gold.*] In the original it is χρήματα, χρήματ' ἀνήρ, i. e. *money, money, is the man;* or, according to our English proverb, 'Money makes the man.' The name of this Spartan sage was Aristodemus: the Scholiast informs us, that Andron of Ephesus reckoned this Spartan philosopher among the seven wise men of Greece.

Nor to thy wisdom is this truth unknown;
No longer therefore shall the muse delay
To sing the rapid steeds, and Isthmian crown,
Which the great monarch of the briny flood [3]
On lov'd Xenocrates bestow'd,
His generous cares with honour to repay.

was better to have a brazen statue of that price, than a poem;' and went their ways: but some time after, changing their opinion, they returned to Pindar, and gave him his price; upon which, Pindar, a little piqued at their having so much undervalued his poetry, began his Ode with showing how much a poem was to be preferred to a statue, which could not move from the place where it was once fixed; whereas a poem might be transported any where, and consequently divulge in many places the glory of the person in whose honour it was composed. The same thought, though somewhat differently applied, occurs in the latter end of the Ode, which I have here translated; and to these passages Horace plainly alludes in the following verses of his Ode upon Pindar:

Sive, quos Elea domum reducit
Palma cœlestes: pugilemve, equumve
Dicit, et centum potiore signis
Munere donat.

I cannot conclude this note without observing, that there is probably an error in the sum (three drachmas) mentioned by the Scholiast as the price demanded by Pindar for his Ode; for though some people may imagine *that* money enough for an Ode, yet the same persons, I dare say, will think it too small a price for a statue of brass: especially if the conquerors in the Nemean games were, like those in the Olympic, obliged by law to have their statues precisely of the same dimensions with themselves, which is most probable.

3 *Which the great monarch of the briny flood, &c.*] The Isthmian games were sacred to Neptune, who also, according to the Greek mythology, was the inventor or creator of horses; for both which reasons, the victory obtained by Xenocrates is here said to be the gift of Neptune.

STROPHE II.

Him too [4], his Agrigentum's brightest star,
Latona's son with favourable eyes
At Crisa view'd, and bless'd his conquering car;
Nor, when, contending for the noble prize,
Nicomachus, on Athens' craggy plain,
With dextrous art controll'd the chariot-steering rein,

ANTISTROPHE II.

Did Phœbus blame the driver's skilful hand;
But with Athenian palms his master grac'd:
His master, greeted in the' Olympic sand;
And evermore with grateful zeal embrac'd
By the great priests, whose herald voice proclaims
The' Elean feasts of Jove, and Pisa's sacred games.

4 *Him too—Latona's son—at Crisa view'd, &c.*] In these and the following verses, Pindar enumerates the victories obtained by Xenocrates in several games; as in the Pythian, in some games exhibited at Athens, and in the Olympic. In the second Olympic Ode, inscribed to Theron the brother of Xenocrates, Pindar takes notice of the Isthmian and Pythian crowns gained by the two brothers, whom he therefore styles copartners in immortal praise; but says, that Theron alone gained the victory at Olympia: from whence it is evident that this Ode, in which mention is made of an Olympic crown obtained by Xenocrates, was written upon occasion of another Isthmian victory gained by Xenocrates, subsequent to that mentioned by Pindar in his Ode to Theron; and consequently that the present Ode was written some time after that, and another (the sixth Pythian Ode) composed by Pindar on occasion of Xenocrates having come off victorious in the Pythian games. The date however of this Ode is uncertain; it is probable, as has been observed, that it was written after the death of Xenocrates.

EPODE II.

Him, on the golden lap of victory
  Reclining his illustrious head,
They hail'd with sweetest melody;
  And through the land his glory spread,
Through the fam'd Altis of Olympic Jove [5];
Where in the honours of the sacred grove
The children of Ænesidamus shar'd;
For not unknown to victory and praise,
Oft, Thrasybulus, hath thy mansion heard
The pleasing concerts of the youthful choir,
  Attemper'd to the warbling lyre,
And the sweet mixture of triumphal lays.

STROPHE III.

In smooth and flowery paths the' encomiast treads,
  When to the mansions of the good and great
In pomp the nymphs of Helicon he leads:
  Yet thee, Xenocrates, to celebrate,

5 *Through the fam'd Altis of Olympic Jove; &c.*] The sacred grove of Jupiter, at Olympia, was named *Altis*. This Altis, as we learn from Pindar himself (Olymp. Ode x.) and his Scholiast, was set apart by Hercules for a banquetting-place for those who contended, or rather conquered, in the Olympic games; by those words, therefore,

Where in the honours of the sacred grove
The children of Ænesidamus shar'd;

Pindar means to say, that Theron and Xenocrates, the sons of Ænesidamus, gained the Olympic crown: and by the following,

For not unknown to victory and praise, &c.

he alludes to the Odes and music usually composed and sung on those occasions.

Thy all-surpassing gentleness to sing
In equal strains, requires an all-surpassing string.

ANTISTROPHE III.

To all benevolent, rever'd, belov'd,
In every social virtue he excell'd;
And with his conquering steeds at Corinth prov'd,
How sacred the decrees of Greece he held[6];
With equal zeal the' immortals he ador'd,
And spread with frequent feasts his consecrated board.

EPODE III.

Nor did he e'er, when rose a stormy gale,
Relax his hospitable course,
Or gather in his swelling sail:
But finding ever some resource[7]
The fierce extremes of fortune to allay,
Held on with equal pace his constant way.

[6] *And with his conquering steeds at Corinth prov'd,*
How sacred the decrees of Greece he held;]

We are told in the Latin notes upon this passage, that Aretius (though upon what authority is uncertain) affirms, that there was a general law in Greece, requiring all, who were able, to breed horses; which, considering how scarce that useful animal was in Greece, even after the time of Pindar, is not improbable. The several kinds of horse-races in the games were certainly instituted with this view, as I have observed in the Dissertation.

[7] *But finding ever some resource, &c.*] The original in this place is so obscure that the learned will pardon me, if I have not hit upon the right meaning.

Permit not then, through dread of envious tongues,
Thy father's worth to be in silence lost;
Nor from the public keep these choral songs.
Not in one corner is the poet's strain
  Form'd, like a statue, to remain,
This, Nicasippus, tell my honour'd host.

FINIS.

Whittingham and Rowland, *Printers*, Goswell Street, London.

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